HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION OF THE 18th FRUCTIDOR,

(SEPTEMBER 4th, 1797),

AND OF THE

DEPORTATIONS TO GUIANA,

IN CONSEQUENCE

OF THAT REVOLUTION.

CONTAINING

1. REPLY of L. N. M. CARNOT, Citizen of France, one of the Founders of the Republic, and Constitutional Member of the Executive Directory: to the REPORT made on the Conspiracy of the 18th Fructidor, by J. Ch. Bailleul: comprising a Variety of important Anecdotes relating to that Revolution.

2. RAMEL'S NARRATIVE of the Deportation to Cayenne of Barthélemy, Pichegru, Willot, Marbois, La Rue, Ramel, &c. &c. in Consequence of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor.

3. SECRET ANECDOTES of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor, and NEW MEMOIRS of the Persons deported to Guiana. Written by themselves.

4. NARRATIVE of the DEPORTATION TO CAYENNE, and Shipwreck on the Coast of Scotland, of J. J. JOB AIMÉ, written by himself: with Observations on the present State of that Colony, and of the Negroes; and an Account of the Situation of the Deported Persons at the Time of his Escape.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1800.

Printed by T. Baylis, 15.
Greville Street, Hatton Garden.

THIRD EDITION.

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT,

&c. &c.

PRICE THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT,

CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC,
AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF
THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY:

TO THE

REPORT *made on the* CONSPIRACY *of the* 18*th Fructidor.*
5*th Year, by* J. CH. BAILLEUL, *in the*
Name of the Select Committee.

THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-
STREET, PICCADILLY.

1799.

INTRODUCTION.

It is not eaſy to diſcover the motive which could have led to the publication of the following work; a work which, when we conſider the ſituation of the Author, whether with a view to the ambitious proſpects which he may be ſuppoſed ſtill to entertain, or to that regard for character which is never wholly abandoned by the moſt profligate of mankind, muſt appear equally prejudicial to his intereſts and to his reputation.

Under the form of a Reply to the Calumnies (for ſuch they appear to be) alledged againſt him by the Directorial Reporter, Bailleul, the Author has contrived to give a general view of his political Character and Opinions, and an Apology (or, more properly ſpeaking, a Juſtification, for ſuch the Author ſeems to conſider it) of his Principles and Conduct during the Revolution. And this Apology, including an arrogant aſſumption of merit, from the murder of his ſovereign, and confining his whole exculpation of the innumerable murders committed in his own name and under his own authority to a ſlight aſſertion of a diſapprobation expreſſed in the preſence of Robeſpierre and his other colleagues—This apology, devoting its Author to infamy (in the opinion of all thoſe, by whom his conduct may be eſtimated according to the ancient and immutable principles of morality), is at the ſame time ſo contrived, that, of the three parties exiſting in France, the Royaliſts, the Jacobins, and the Directory, it is calculated

to irritate and exaſperate every one; — the Directors, as they are perſonally, and virulently, and (what is ſtill more unpardonable) juſtly denounced to the world as the enemies of peace and the oppreſſors of mankind ;— the Royaliſts, of courſe ;—and the Jacobins, as their former conſpiracies are cited, and a merit aſſumed from having aſſiſted in their ſuppreſſion.

The publication of ſuch a work, however, though a little extraordinary, is not wholly unaccountable. That Sully and Clarendon, men whoſe lives were devoted not to any ſelfiſh or ſenſual purpoſes, but to the benefit and improvement of mankind ; that ſuch men ſhould have thought a portion of their leiſure uſefully occupied, in accounting to mankind for the employment of their time and the application of their talents — this is not extraordinary. They felt no embarraſſment, no anxiety for the arrangement of a ſpecious narrative, no neceſſity for concealment of the truth or for

an artful inſinuation of falſehood; to recollect and record the tranſactions of a meritorious and honourable life was in itſelf no unpleaſing duty; and they were conſcious that the purpoſes for which alone they exiſted would extend themſelves, and be perpetuated with the influence of their example.

But there are other writers of a very different character, men whoſe lives have been pernicious or uſeleſs to ſociety; who have, nevertheleſs, conceived it important that poſterity ſhould be acquainted with their principles, ſuch as they were, and with the courſe of their tranſactions and intrigues. This rage for perpetuating the portraitures of mental deformity has been at all times remarkably prevalent in France; and the immenſe collection of French memoirs preſents us with a ſeries of theſe ſelf-accuſers unexampled in the literature of any other country.

The paſſions, by which theſe writers muſt have been actuated, like all others, ſeem to

have gained new force and activity from the events of the Revolution. The reſtleſſneſs attendant upon involuntary retirement, that impatience of ſilence and obſcurity which embitters the exile or ſeceſſion of a baniſhed or abdicating ſtateſman, the *beſoin de faire parler de ſoi*, have been felt in their full force by all the ſucceſſive victims whom ambition has raiſed to notice for an inſtant and then replunged in their original obſcurity. It is to theſe paſſions that we are indebted for almoſt all we know of the Revolution; for the Memoirs of GARAT, and ROLAND, and DUMOURIER; the Narratives of LOUVET, and RIOUFFE; and the Apologies of NECKAR, and of FOUQUIER TINVILLE.

This laſt (a worthy magiſtrate, and preſident of the Revolutionary Tribunal under the direction of that committee of which CARNOT was a member) confines his juſtification to the following metaphorical aſſertion, "*that his tender heart had expanded*

like a flower at the firſt dawning of the Revolution;" and he very fairly confeſſes, that ſince that time he had been miſled by his zeal; and that, in point of *murder*, he is apprehenſive he may have carried things a little farther than was neceſſary, or indeed perhaps altogether juſtifiable.

The Apology offered by his principal, the Ex-director, is not quite ſo modeſt; he takes upon him to reproach the world in general, for their ignorance as to what uſed to paſs in the Committees of Public Safety — "*It is not ſufficiently known* (ſays he) *that I uſed to reproach* ROBESPIERRE *for his unneceſſary cruelties.*" It certainly is not known; nor will it be credited, upon ſuch aſſertion; nor, even if it were true, would it be a ſufficient apology, or any thing like it. The Author would certainly have done better, not to have deviated into theſe extraneous exculpations; unleſs, indeed, he could have proved that, by ſome inexplicable chain of obligation, it had been

originally his duty to become a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and that, once appointed to that ſacred truſt, he was bound to continue his ſervices, and to retain life at the expence of guilt and infamy. He certainly would have done better to have confined himſelf to the ſingle theſis which forms the profeſſed ſubject of his work, namely, to prove that BAILLEUL's accuſation of Royaliſm, and LEPAUX's imputations of Chriſtianity, are unfounded; and that the Author is, in fact, as ſound an Atheiſt and as good a Regicide as heart could wiſh or Republicaniſm require. Upon this point he is completely triumphant, and muſt be admitted, we think, in the opinion of every impartial perſon, to have left his adverſaries without the poſſibility of a reply.

The next point in diſcuſſion is not calculated to inſpire much intereſt; it conſiſts of the ſimple fact of the Author's having been betrayed and outwitted by his accomplices.

Your rivals having made their puſh,
And kick'd you out without remorſe,
Whether it ſignifies a ruſh,
Is the next part of this diſcourſe:

You think yourſelves abuſed and put-on,
'Tis natural to make a fuſs;
To ſee it and not care a button,
Is juſt as natural for us;

Like people viewing at a diſtance
Two perſons thrown out of a caſement,
All we can do for your aſſiſtance,
Is to afford you our amazement.

To Citizen Carnot therefore, in return for the ſtriking and amuſing ſpectacle, which he has diſplayed on the theatre of the Republic, from the time of his original *debut* in the character of the Committee-man, to the period of his final diſappearance through the trap-door, like Schillers Fieſco, in the laſt act of the Conſpiracy, entangled in the ſkirts of his Directorial Toga, and dragged over-board and drowned by his

Republican brethren—in gratitude for the whole of this intereſting and ſurprizing exhibition, we ſhall offer the humble tribute of our artleſs and unfeigned aſtoniſhment, unmixed with any of thoſe emotions of ſympathy, which belong to the province of a different ſpecies of the political drama; that drama which, in the downfal of empires and the overthrow of ancient and eſtabliſhed governments, diſplays thoſe characters which Heaven itſelf ſurveys with approbation:

> A great man ſtruggling with the ſtorms of fate,
> And greatly falling with a falling ſtate.

We truſt that the nations of Europe, though weakened and ſubdued, are not yet ſo debaſed in ſpirit and character, that they are prepared to take an intereſt, and to ſide as factious partizans with the contending leaders of the Great Nation; that, like the tributary ſovereigns of Numidia, or Bithynia, or Egypt, under the old overbearing

Republic of Rome, they will be proud to rank themſelves as Cæſarians or Pompeians, to combat for a choice of oppreſſors, and diſcuſs and controvert the pretenſions of their rival plunderers. We proceed therefore to the only point of view in which the quarrels and altercations of the accomplices in blood and robbery can excite an intereſt in the minds of honeſt men—namely, the examination of ſuch facts as may be brought to light in the courſe of their mutual recriminations; but for theſe the reader muſt be referred to the work itſelf; he will there ſee that the ſacrifice of the Cape and our other conqueſts in the Eaſt, which was attempted to be exacted as a preliminary to negotiation, would have reſtored them, not to their old maſters, and our former allies, the Dutch, but, to our own inveterate rivals, and irreconcileable enemies; after which, or more probably on the firſt attempt to remonſtrate againſt ſo ſcandalous a breach of faith, we ſhould (under every diſadvantage) have been driven

again to a renewal of hoſtilities, of which, in fact, this armiſtice obtained by an artifice at once ſo inſolent and ſo fraudulent would only have been a neceſſary, and not the leaſt efficient part.

With reſpect to the authenticity of the work, we have no means of forming a judgement but what are equally open to our readers, namely, an attentive examination of the evidence contained in the work itſelf: conſidering the circumſtances under which it is written, it is hardly to be expected that the Author ſhould come forward to claim and avow his own production; upon the teſt, therefore, of internal evidence (in our opinion a perfectly ſatisfactory one), we muſt be content to form our judgement, unleſs (which is not improbable) the Directory, who muſt be the beſt judges, ſhould think fit to ſilence all objection, and ſanction the authenticity of the work, by employing their uſual advocates for its refutation.—In the mean time, their agents in

this country, apprehenſive that its contents might be offenſive to their patrons and employers, have thought it right, as a meaſure of precaution, to inſert a paragraph in the paper which ſerves as the uſual vehicle of their miſrepreſentations:—the paragraph too is in their uſual and favourite ſtyle (a ſtyle perfectly familiar to thoſe who have at all attended to the ſyſtem of falſehood and miſrepreſentation of which they are the indefatigable propagators), inſinuating a falſehood under the flippant affectation of a ſort of negligent ſcepticiſm—We are told that.—" It is a curious publication " if genuine.—It appears to be publiſhed " by the French emigrants, and, true or " falſe, it is a captivating title."—We ourſelves profeſs to be wholly uninformed with reſpect to the circumſtances of the publication; but we are ſtrongly inclined to believe, that if the Author of this paragraph had any information of his own upon the ſubject (which however we by no means give him credit for), it would be found to

be in direct contradiction to his own inſinuation :—we ſhould be farther inclined to ſuſpect, that the writer had not even ſeen the work, the authenticity of which he is ſo forward to call in queſtion; certainly no one who had read it attentively would have attempted to overthrow the credit of its authenticity by ſo fooliſh and inapplicable a calumny, as that of its being forged by the emigrants;—whereas, from the beginning of the book to the end, there is not a ſingle paſſage to be found, directly or indirectly, favourable to the particular cauſe of the emigrants, or to their character; nor is the word "Emigrant" (we believe), except in a ſingle paſſage where Barras is accuſed of protecting them, to be found in the whole book.

But it is impoſſible to attempt to meet every objection with its particular refutation;—the internal evidence, to thoſe who are capable of eſtimating it, will be a ſtronger and more convincing teſt of au-

thenticity than ten thouſand external proofs; and for thoſe who may be diſpoſed to controvert it, in oppoſition to their own conviction, the example of the *Letters from Egypt*, the authenticity of which, after being ſo long, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo impudently, denied in this country, is now finally eſtabliſhed by the confeſſion of the French themſelves; will, we hope, teach them a little caution, and that they will wait, at leaſt, for the determination of their friends at Paris, before they engage in a diſpute, in which thoſe very friends may find it neceſſary to contradict them.

London,
March 22, 1799.

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT, &c.

AT length I have received a copy of the Report of Bailleul on the Conſpiracy of Fructidor, and have eagerly examined whether any thing it contained concerned me perſonally. I there found, that the committee had honoured me with particular attention, and that it had recorded my ſuppoſed delinquencies in about twelve lines of text, and forty-five of notes.

I know not whether, in the remainder of the Report, it adheres as ſtrictly to the truth as in that part of which I am the ſubject; but, I

ſet out by declaring, and ſhall preſently demonſtrate, that this part of the Report is one continued tiſſue of abominable impoſtures; that there is not a ſingle word in it which does not bear the ſtamp of premeditated falſehood, and of the moſt flagrant perfidy.

When a committee is appointed by the Legiſlative Body to prepare an authentic Report relative to an event which that committee itſelf has contributed to produce; when, after ſix months of reſearch, it announces that at length it has collected all the facts; and when, after the enumeration of all it conſiders as merely probable, it declares (page 26, note) that *all the remainder of the Report is confirmed by official documents depoſited in the hands of the miniſters;* when this, I ſay, is the caſe, and yet the ſubſequent part of the Report contains a ſeries of facts which are not ſupported by any official document whatever; when, on the contrary, there exiſt innumerable official papers which give the lie to them all, which radically overturn and deſtroy them; then, I ſay, that not only this reporter is infamous

himſelf, but all thoſe who have participated in this work of iniquity.

Bailleul, dreſſed like a *Chouan*, and exerciſing the trade of a *Chouan* in the time of the National Convention, is ſuddenly become a high-flown patriot: that is, according to the new acceptation of the word, a man ſervilely devoted to the Executive Directory; deſirous that the Legiſlative Body ſhould be reduced to a mere *Chancellerie*, the blind inſtrument to regiſter the ſupreme orders of this abſolute maſter; to expel thoſe whom it is commanded to expel by the Directory; to proſcribe thoſe whom it is commanded to proſcribe; applauding its violences, and ſacrificing to its caprice and avidity the labours, the liberty, the honour, and the life, of every citizen.

What has induced Bailleul to ruſh into this new career?—doubtleſs the promiſe of an embaſſy, or of ſome other important poſt. But Bailleul and his co-adjutors will learn, that the Directory promiſe much, while they perform

little. He, as well as his aſſociates, will find, that ſervility and meanneſs, in the end, always receive their juſt reward—the contempt of thoſe whom they ſerve.

Such are the republicans of the preſent day! the patriots *par excellence!* while the man, who chooſes rather to ruin himſelf than exceed the bounds of the Conſtitution, is ſtigmatized as a royaliſt; the man, who voted for the death of the King, who has made war on Kings, who has contributed to the humiliation of all Kings, this man is a royaliſt! This, forſooth, is evident: *we do not attempt* (ſays Bailleul, p. 2) *to prove the exiſtence of light.*

The great principle once eſtabliſhed, the train of argument to be adopted by the reporter becomes perfectly eaſy. He has no occaſion to *attempt to prove;* it is enough for him to ſtate facts; and as St. Juſt, when accuſing his colleagues in the tribune of the National Convention, ſaid, "*the documents are in the hands of the committee:*" ſo Baileul, accuſing his col-

leagues in the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, ſays, *the documents are in the hands of the miniſters.*

'*Your committee* (adds he, p. 2) *would have but imperfectly conceived your wiſhes, had they directed their attention to adduce proofs or furniſh juſtifications.*'

Excellent, Citizen Bailleul! it is eaſy to perceive the true meaning of this declaration. I grant that it would be '*but imperfectly to conceive the wiſhes*' of thoſe who know that no proofs exiſt but the proofs of their own crimes, to ſubmit ſuch proofs to their inſpection—to the inſpection of the people—to the inſpection of all Europe. Thoſe who, like you, are perfectly acquainted, by their own feelings, who were the real Fructidorian conſpirators; thoſe who tremble, even at this day, leſt they ſhould be forced too clearly to contemplate that immortal victory, that victory in which the Conſtitution expired under their poignards, in which the rights of man were torn in pieces by their ſacrilegious hands;

thoſe men, I ſay, will thank you for this *trait* of genius, worthy of Fouquier-Tinville.

But all mankind have not, like you, or like them, the art of ſetting themſelves above the reproaches of conſcience; and, therefore, thoſe of the repreſentatives who, on that glorious day, paralyzed with terror, proſcribed their colleagues in a maſs; or, through weakneſs or impotence, ſuffered them to be proſcribed, yet ſhuddering at their own art, and hoping that they might one day be relieved from the burden with which they were overwhelmed; thoſe men, Citizen Bailleul, would not have thought that you had *imperfectly conceived their wiſhes*, or that you had undertaken an unneceſſary labour, in proving to them that what they were then doing, if it was not conſtitutional, was at leaſt radically juſt.

Yes; I, who am far removed from the cabinet of miniſters; I, who am living in retirement in an obſcure village in the heart of Germany; I will prove to Bailleul, that the documents which he ſays are ‘ *depoſited in the hands of the mi-*

niſters,' and which he declares he has ſeen and read, have in fact no exiſtence. I will prove to Bailleul, that there does exiſt a multitude of documents, which eſtabliſh facts diametrically oppoſite to thoſe to which he has pledged himſelf. I will prove to Bailleul, that he is the vileſt and baſeſt of impoſtors.

I ſhall examine, ſentence by ſentence, what he has ſaid concerning me; to each of them I ſhall reply ſucceſſively. I begin with the text, which is literally as follows. (p. 35.)

'*Carnot denies that aſſaſſinations were committed.*'

Is it in writing, Citizen Bailleul, or verbally, that I have *denied* this fact? If it be in writing, the *official documents* muſt be '*in the hands of the miniſters,*' as you have before declared. Produce theſe documents. Explain to us what kind of documents could prove ſuch a *denial;* or by what ſort of declaration any one can aſſert, that throughout France, or only, for inſtance,

in the South, no crime has been committed. But to have done with this trifling abſurdity ; — I will preſently demonſtrate that the official documents, which actually exiſt, ſtate the direct contrary to be the fact.

In the firſt place, then, YOU LIE, when you aſſert that all the facts are proved by official documents. It is only verbally, then, that I have denied this fact ? And from whom could you learn this, Citizen Bailleul ? From the Directory, no doubt, whoſe aſſertions are equally deſerving of confidence with the *official documents depoſited in the hands of the miniſters.* But, Citizen Bailleul, the Directory give evidence here in their own cauſe ; either the Directory, therefore, muſt acknowledge that it has been guilty of a horrid outrage, or it muſt maintain that thoſe whom it proſcribed were really criminal. The Directory is all-powerful, whereas the other parties are either fugitives or in priſon. Do you believe they will proclaim the innocence of theſe men, and declare themſelves deſerving of the moſt ſevere puniſhment.

The number of aſſaſſinations was doubtleſs much exaggerated by the newſpapers, and the cauſes of theſe aſſaſſinations were not always thoſe attributed to them. But ſo far from having ever denied their exiſtence, no one has been ſo urgent as myſelf for the proſecution of the aſſaſſins; no one has ſo bitterly complained of the glaring partiality of the tribunals; no one has with ſo much warmth and earneſtneſs recommended to the members of the Legiſlative Body to place adequate means in the hands of the Directory to put a ſtop to this deluge of crimes.

The *official proofs* of all this, Citizen Bailleul, are to be found in the letters which I wrote in the name of the Directory to the Generals commanding in the interior, and which are depoſited with the Directory itſelf; they are to be found in the teſtimonies of all thoſe who heard me ſpeak on this execrable ſyſtem of aſſaſſination.

I will, in my turn, ſtate a fact, which proves, that, far from denying theſe atrocities, I, on the contrary, exerted the utmoſt of my power to

have the authors of them punished; a circumstance which would appear singular, did we not know the unparalleled villany of the tyrants, of whom you, Bailleul, are the worthy tool:—But the fact is proved by *official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers!*

Acts of violence took place at Dijon and at Arras: in the first of which a murder had even been committed; nor could it be doubted that these outrages were the work of the counter-revolutionists. Of these facts I had collected numerous proofs which I imparted to the Directory, and also placed them in the hands of the Minister of General Police, with a request that he would prosecute the perpetrators. Yet, incredible as it may appear, I could never obtain a report on this subject. Incredible as it may appear, I spoke in the warmest manner to the Directory no less than fifteen times, who never deigned to attend to the business! The papers which I communicated will attest the fact; the deputies from the Department of the *Côte d'Or* in particular can prove with what ardour I pro-

ſecuted the affair of their own Deparment: yet all my labour was in vain! — And why? — Becauſe the Directory were well pleaſed that aſſaſſinations ſhould be committed: — becauſe (according to their doctrine) the true remedy being the exceſs of the evil, they were deſirous that the evil ſhould be carried to exceſs.

But theſe were, in fact, mere pretexts for accuſations againſt the members of the legiſlature, and thoſe of the Directory whom they were reſolved to ruin. Above all, they ſeized with the utmoſt avidity every opportunity of directing againſt me that indignation which the impunity of crimes neceſſarily produced in the Departments where I was particularly intereſted. I was born in the Department of the *Côte d'Or*, and was married in that of the *Pas de Calais*; this is the reaſon I have never been able to obtain juſtice for either the one or the other of theſe Departments.

" He oppoſes the diſmiſſion of Willot."

Either Willot was culpable, Citizen Bailleul, or he was not. If Willot was innocent, it was my duty to oppoſe his diſmiſſal: if he was guilty, it is not I that ſhould be accuſed, but thoſe very triumvirs who wiſh to charge me with the crime they have themſelves committed. Did they not form the majority of the Directory? Could they not diſmiſs Willot in ſpite of my individual opinion? It follows then, either that the triumvirate thought, like me, that Willot was not criminal, or that they were themſelves the accomplices of Willot. Chooſe, Citizen Bailleul, which alternative you pleaſe. How is it, that, after taking ſix months to forge lies, you at laſt allow ſuch bungling falſehoods to eſcape you?

Can any thing more abſurd be conceived, than three men ſaying, " We formed a majority in the Directory, and we could take whatever meaſures we thought proper to ſtop the progreſs of diſorders; yet we allowed aſſaſſinations without number to be committed, becauſe one of

our colleagues did not believe that aſſaſſinations really exiſted, although we were perfectly certain that they were perpetrated every day:—we ſuffered the principal cut-throat to continue in place, becauſe this ſame colleague of ours did not believe him to be an aſſaſſin, although we had a thouſand proofs of his criminality?"

"Our colleague may have been deceived; he is in an error; conſequently he is a royaliſt, and ought to be exiled. As for us, no one has impoſed upon us; it is knowingly, and with our eyes open, that we have permitted thouſands of aſſaſſinations to be committed; thus we are only guilty of cowardice and cruelty; conſequently we are the true patriots, and ought to continue in the Directory in order to bring about *Fructidorian revolutions*."

Willot was ſent to Marſeilles as a man of character, and qualified to keep all parties within bounds. He had combated with ſucceſs the rebels of La Vendée. It will be found, even in his letters, that he thinks Hoche is not

ſufficiently ſuſpicious of them. He fears their ſubmiſſion may be only a feint! that they are abuſing the indulgence of government; and that they will take advantage of the firſt favourable opportunity to renew their plots and conſpiracies.

In a ſhort time, however, we received contradictory reports from Marſeilles relative to the conduct of Willot; thoſe who propagated them, call themſelves true patriots, and treat all their adverſaries as robbers and aſſaſſins; ſome as the agents of anarchy, others as the advocates of royaliſm.

Barras propoſed the diſmiſſal of Willot. But what friends, what correſpondents could Barras have at Marſeilles? Probably thoſe who, during his miſſion with Fréron, ſuggeſted to him ſo many dilapidations, ſo many maſſacres, ſo many ſcenes of horror; the authorities recently conſtituted by this ſame Fréron in his ſecond miſſion; by this diſciple, this co-adjutor, of Marat, who boaſts of having compoſed the moſt virulent articles of his bloody pages; and

who even, after the ninth of Thermidor, continued to invoke him as his tutelary divinity.

I oppoſed the removal of Willot until farther examinations were made. The other members of the Directory did the ſame. This is evident; ſince, if they had thought with Barras, they would have been a majority, and Willot would have been diſmiſſed. Theſe are the wretches who accuſe me now of having oppoſed Willot's diſmiſſal!

In the Departments of the South was a man, named Cadet, who was in the confidence of the Directory. It was agreed to refer the buſineſs to him; he was ordered immediately to repair to Marſeilles, and tranſmit an exact and poſitive account of the conduct of Willot. Cadet wrote that Willot conducted himſelf very well, that he diſplayed much energy and impartiality, and that his conduct was abſolutely irreproachable. Willot was unanimouſly continued at Marſeilles, and Barras himſelf dared not to vote againſt him.

In the mean while complaints were made againſt Moynat-d'Auxon, who commanded at Toulon. The Directory ordered Cadet to proceed to Toulon, and ſend them an account of the conduct of Moynat. Cadet returned for anſwer, that Moynat was unfit for the command, and that he leaned to ariſtocracy. I immediately propoſed the removal of Moynat; and, taking a pen, drew up the decree myſelf. The Secretary-General can and ought to atteſt this fact.

The deliberations of the Directory were recorded in the journals, and the letters of Cadet are among the *official papers* depoſited in the offices. Are you ſatisfied now, Citizen Bailleul?

But there exiſt other official documents with reſpect to Willot. I mean the letters I wrote to him in the name of the Executive Directory; and that which I addreſſed to him in my own private capacity, after his taking his ſeat in the Legiſlative Body. All theſe letters formally prove the reverſe of what you advance. The laſt of

them contains bitter reproaches on the ſtep he took in the Council of Five Hundred. The Directory got poſſeſſion of this minute, by putting their ſeal upon my papers: and what illuſtrates the good faith that governs both them and you, Citizen Bailleul, who ſay you have collected all the documents, is, that you not only omit to mention this minute, which would confound your impoſture, but that you even dare to advance as a fact, the direct contrary of what is ſubſtantially proved by that letter. Aſſuredly, when every thing that was dear to me, when even my family papers fell into the hands of the tyrants, it cannot be aſſerted, that I only left thoſe letters which I was willing ſhould be read. Do there exiſt in any part of the Republic, or elſewhere, any letters of mine written in a different ſtyle? I challenge all thoſe who have any ſuch in their poſſeſſion to ſend them to the Executive Directory.

Not only my letter to Willot muſt have been found among my papers, but all my private correſpondence with Bonaparte; all my official

correſpondence with the Generals during the campaign of 1793 and 1794; all my private letters to different repreſentatives of the people from the opening of the laſt ſeſſion. It can be eaſily ſeen, whether I have varied in my principles; whether the language I held under the revolutionary government contradicts that which I held under the conſtitutional government; whether it is not uniformly that of the moſt ardent civiſm, combined with the deepeſt ſenſe of humanity, and the pureſt morality. Theſe papers contain the beſt anſwers that can be given both to thoſe who wiſhed to implicate me in the conſpiracy of Robeſpierre, and to thoſe who have included me in the Fructidorian proſcription. I ſhall, one day, perhaps, be accuſed of having even participated in the new tyranny itſelf!

When Willot was elected into the Legiſlative Body, it was thought the beſt meaſure to purſue, was to order Bonaparte to replace him, by ſending to Marſeilles any of the Generals, in the Army of Italy, he thought beſt qualified to execute that delicate and important commiſſion.

Bonaparte ſent Sahuguet, and preſently the ſame reproaches were laviſhed on Sahuguet, as had been laviſhed on Willot: and thus, Citizen Bailleul, you have an accuſation prepared for Bonaparte whenever occaſion ſhall require.

'*Though once an implacable enemy to Pichegru, yet now he has taken his ſeat in the Legiſlative Body, he has daily interviews with him privately and confidentially.*'

I have never been either the friend or the enemy of Pichegru. I have never been either the perſonal friend or the perſonal enemy of any of the Commanders in Chief in the ſervice of the Republic. I have eſteemed and cultivated the friendſhip of thoſe who were able and ſkilful officers, and I have contributed as much as I could to employ them, while I endeavoured to remove ſuch as were unfortunate, without giving them any perſonal pain or offence.

My confidence in Pichegru began to diminiſh, when his conduct gave birth to doubts in my

mind, relative to the firmneſs of his principles. Reubel alſo ſtated ſome facts to the Directory, which increaſed my ſuſpicions. As Pichegru, therefore, had thrice offered to retire, I propoſed at laſt to accept of his reſignation. Pichegru was no longer employed, but came to Paris, where he complained bitterly, and ſaid, that he had not expreſſly offered his reſignation, but had only demanded leave of abſence. Great pains were now taken to irritate him againſt me. He was really my enemy, but I was not his. The ſame newſpapers that now deſcribe me as his accomplice, then imputed his retreat to me as a crime. It was even pretended that he was ſtarving, and that he was obliged to maintain himſelf by keeping the Diligences at Veſoul. On my ſuggeſtion, however, the Directory continued his pay as General of Diviſion.

When Pichegru appeared in the Legiſlative Body, I was deſirous of being beforehand with him, and paid him a viſit. I did the ſame with Jourdan. I was accompanied by two general officers, and we converſed ſeveral hours

on the ſituation of political affairs, and the neceſſity of re-eſtabliſhing harmony between the chief conſtituted authorities. Pichegru ſpoke with more ſhrewdneſs than I had imagined him to poſſeſs, for I ſcarcely knew him, except through the medium of his military talents; and they do not always infer that cultivation of mind which is the offspring of a liberal education; and, in the few opportunities I had of ſeeing him, he had always appeared very reſerved and ſilent. When we left him, one of the general officers ſaid to me, "I am not pleaſed "with Pichegru; I do not think him ſincere:" I ſuſpect (ſaid I) it is becauſe, he is no longer Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine.

I was deſirous, however, of drying up the ſource of every animoſity, and of preventing the revival of thoſe factions that had ſo long torn the boſom of the Republic; I therefore invited to dinner the general officers, who were deputed to the Legiſlative Body, particularly Pichegru and Jourdan, whom I wiſhed to reconcile.—

Jourdan came, but Pichegru ſtaid away, although he had promiſed.—Since that time, I invited him again, for I was deſirous of knowing the real ſtate of his mind; but, as he conſtantly made excuſes, I at length deſiſted from repeating my invitations.

He waited on me, however, one evening, together with eight or ten others of the repreſentatives of the people; but they only came by accident, and did not ſtay above two or three minutes in my garden, where I received them. Pichegru did not once ſpeak to me, nor did I addreſs myſelf to him.

Theſe were the only occaſions on which I have ſeen Pichegru ſince his admiſſion into the Legiſlative Body; this is what Bailleul calls having daily interviews with him privately and confidentially; but if they were ſo, how did Bailleul become acquainted with our meetings? How could he be ſure of them? Is this alſo proved by *official papers in the hands of the miniſters?* Let him name the

places where I met Pichegru, the houſes where we were together, and the perſons who have ſeen us. Have the numerous ſentinels of the Luxembourg ever ſeen him? Have the porters, the ſervants, the ſpies of the little Réveillère, who lived in the ſame ſtaircaſe with myſelf, ever ſeen him?

And as I have not received him at my own apartments, neither have I ſeen him elſewhere; for, during the whole duration of my dictatorial functions, I did not go out a dozen times, except with ſome part of my family—unleſs, indeed, my wife, my ſiſter, my children, my domeſtics, are all ſuppoſed to be the accomplices of my ſecret, confidential interviews with Pichegru!

The aſſertion I am now diſproving is the moſt important of them all. Even ſuppoſing Pichegru was guilty, I might have been deceived in him, and ſeen him without ſuſpicion. But who would have exculpated me from the prejudice which would reſult from it? What an abyſs of calumny

is in the accuſation! WHAT MONSTERS ARE THESE TRIUMVIRS! What a degraded being is this J. Ch. Bailleul!!

A few days previous to the cataſtrophe of the 18th Fructidor, the female citizen Eblé, ſiſter of the celebrated General of artillery, came to my apartments. "Is it then certain, Citizen Carnot, (ſaid ſhe) that Pichegru will deſert the patriots?" I know nothing of it, I replied, but his conduct is by no means calculated to inſpire confidence. —"I am determined (replied ſhe) to go and ſee him. I am determined to read his heart in his countenance, and know the real ſtate of his mind." I approved her determination, and ſhe returned two or three days after, ſaying, "No, Pichegru does not deſert us. He aſks what he ſhall do to prove that he does not abandon the cauſe of the patriots." Pichegru, replied I, muſt aſcend the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, and there declare himſelf in a manner that will leave no doubt what his real ſentiments are, and ſtrike terror into the conſpirators of the counter-revolution. His actions muſt

correſpond with his words, and in lieu of feeding criminal hopes, by an ambiguity of conduct, he muſt at length rally all the defenders of liberty around the national ſtandard. This, ſaid I, is the only part that is becoming the character of Pichegru, and in doing this there is no time to loſe.

The female citizen Eblé told me ſhe would inſtantly communicate to him my advice. But this happened, I believe, on the 16th Fructidor, and I never ſaw her afterwards. She may be conſulted relative to the fact, and I have no fear of her refuſing to bear an authentic teſtimony to the truth.

Let us hope the Legiſlative Body of the great nation will one day be ſufficiently *free*, to dare modeſtly to demand, of our demi-gods, what proofs they can adduce, that the victim, who eſcaped their murderous knife, in the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor, had daily interviews with Pichegru.

I am far from wiſhing to decide whether Pichegru was or was not guilty; guilty he certainly was, if a hundredth part of what is ſaid of him in the Committee's Report is true. But when I demonſtrate that, with regard to all the facts that are thoroughly known to me, this Report has violently diſtorted the truth with the utmoſt degree of impudence and perfidy, it is ſurely allowable to ſuppoſe they have not treated it with more reſpect in what relates to others, when we behold them carrying their injuſtice ſo far as to depreciate the ſervices of Pichegru, as commander in chief of the Army of the North, and reduce them to nothing, merely leſt the world ſhould place theſe ſervices in the ſcale againſt the crimes with which they accuſe him.

If Pichegru is innocent, the ſame inſcription may be put upon his tomb as on that of Scipio, which ſtill exiſts in the vicinity of Naples:

"Ingrata patria! neque oſſa mea habebis."

'*A declared advocate of kings, he exclaimed, when the Republican directors made ſuch propo-*

ſals for peace as were honourable to France, YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.'

Was I the advocate of kings, when I voted for the death of the King of France, and made every other king tremble upon his throne?— And you, Bailleul, how did you ſignalize yourſelf in this celebrated ſtruggle, while the reſult was doubtful? Aſk theſe kings which they love beſt, an advocate like me, or a valet like yourſelf?

'*Republican directors!*' I know of none ſuch among the triumvirs — I know only of aſſaſſins of the Republic and of the Conſtitutution.

'*Honourable propoſals!*' Where are they? Can any thing honourable be propoſed by men deſtitute of every principle of honour and of juſtice? Does not truth itſelf become falſehood when it paſſes through their corrupted organs? Would not honour itſelf, could it approach them,

be tarniſhed by their infected breath? would it not expire on their gangrened lips?

If it was I who prevented the adoption of their *honourable propoſals*, they ought to have renewed them when I ceaſed to be a member of the Directory; they ought to have explained their new conditions in the Treaty of Campo Formio. But where are theſe condition? In what reſpect is the Emperor more oppreſſed by this Treaty than by that of Leoben? The Treaty of Campo Formio is not even ſo favourable as that of Leoben, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate.

It was in their power to have concluded the peace five months earlier, on the conditions that have been adopted; and it was becauſe I was deſirous it ſhould be concluded immediately, it was becauſe I was unwilling that hoſtilities ſhould be renewed, or that they ſhould place the Republic in new dilemmas and difficulties (as I myſelf wrote to Bonaparte), that they ſaid I was fearful of their oppreſſing the Emperor.

Will they talk of the ſurrender of Mentz? But it was I who propoſed not to evacuate Palma-nova, till the Emperor had retired from Mentz, and from the whole right bank of the Rhine. It was I who wrote various letters to Bonaparte on this ſubject. Our *Republican directors* paid it no attention whatever.

'YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.'

Theſe are not my words, Bailleul; no; I ſaid to theſe political Quixotes, "You are not, then, "deſirous of peace with the Emperor. If your "conditions are ſo *oppreſſive* to him, that it is "impoſſible for him to accept them without "evidently incurring his own deſtruction, you "had better frankly declare that you mean to "reſume hoſtilities, and are reſolved on a war "of extermination." At theſe words, Réveillière leaped upon his ſeat, and ſaid he knew not whether he ought not to break up the ſitting. I obſerved to Réveillière, that I only repeated what Bonaparte had frequently written, that no

peace could be permanent, the conditions of which were intolerable to the vanquiſhed party; that, otherwiſe, a leven of irritation would remain, which ſooner or later would produce a fatal exploſion. This explanation ſeemed to pacify the acrimonious viper, who coiled himſelf again on his chair.

In this place I muſt unveil the atrocious perfidy of theſe three miſcreants. — BONAPARTE WAS EVER ODIOUS TO THEM, AND THEY NEVER LOST SIGHT OF THEIR DETERMINATION TO DESTROY HIM. From this accuſation I do not even except Barras; the gnaſhing of his teeth, when that General ſent Sahuguet to Marſeilles, his exclamations againſt the preliminaries of Leoben, his groſs and calumnious ſarcaſms on a perſon who muſt be dear to Bonaparte, prove the blackneſs of his inmoſt thoughts. This man, under an outſide of pretended levity, conceals the ferocity of a Caligula.

It is not true that it was he who firſt propoſed the appointment of Bonaparte to the command

of the Army of Italy; it was I who propoſed him. But on this point they have waited till time ſhould ſhow how he would ſucceed; and it was only among the intimate friends of Barras that he boaſted of having been the original propoſer of him to the Directory. Had Bonaparte failed, it was I alone that was to bear the blame, for having recommended to that command an inexperienced youth and an intriguer; I ſhould then have been the evident betrayer of my country. The others took no ſhare in the conduct of the war; it was on me that all the reſpoſibility would have fallen. But Bonaparte was triumphant; and, from that moment, it was Barras who cauſed him to be appointed, and to him alone was due all the praiſe. He was his protector, his defender againſt my attacks; while I was jealous of Bonaparte, croſſed him in all his plans, perſecuted him, ſlandered him, refuſed him the neceſſary ſuccours, and was evidently reſolved to ruin him! Such are the filthy excrements of falſehood with which, from time to time, the journals in the pay of Barras are filled.

Some, it is true, there were, who were desirous of ruining Bonaparte. I allude to the famous triumvirate, who were continually trembling lest they should be deprived of their authority and power. The ascendency which that General had acquired, through his innumerable victories, began to goad and torment them. While they attempted to ruin Bonaparte, I was also to be involved in the consequences; and thus the triumvirate would get rid of two of their enemies at once. Then it was evident that I was the secret rival of the Hero of Italy, whose fall I had prepared! My sentence would have been speedily pronounced; and they would have then performed the obsequies of Bonaparte as magnificently as they did those of General Hoche.

But it will be answered, that I ought in my turn to prove my assertions. This would be perfectly easy, if, like Bailleul, I had '*the official papers in the hands of the ministers*' at my dispos'al. Nor will it by any means be impossible, though living in retirement in an obscure village of Germany.

Bonaparte, as that General well remembers, had ſuggeſted, that it would be expedient to diminiſh the number of our enemies, by concluding treaties of peaces with ſome of them. He recommended that we ſhould treat with the King of Sardinia, and ſtill more particularly with the King of Naples. Reubel was appointed to conduct the diplomatic Department, as I was that of the war. What did he do in conſequence of the earneſt requeſt of Bonaparte? — Nothing. What did I ſay? Nothing! Yes, he raiſed innumerable paultry difficulties relative to the Treaty of Piedmont, and abſolutely refuſed to treat with Naples. It was I who, fatigued with theſe affected delays, of which I clearly perceived the object, tranſacted alone (except a few obſervations of Charles de la Croix) the Treaty with Sardinia, which, I believe, is by no means the worſt. It was I, too, who ſet that of Naples on foot; and, being unable to procure a ſerious deliberation on this ſubject at the Directory, called a meeting of ſome of its members to draw up the articles of the Treaty.

This meeting took place the ſame evening between Le Tourneur, La Révellière, and myſelf, at the reſidence of the latter. Had Barras been a friend to Bonaparte, knowing as he did the wiſhes of that General, that we ſhould treat immediately, he would have attended this meeting, in order to accelerate its object. But on the contrary, he abſented himſelf, and Reubel ſtayed at home to meditate new expedients and evaſions for the enſuing day. The Treaty, however, was drawn up in a ſingle evening, and the next day, notwithſtanding the accuſtomed apathy of Barras; notwithſtanding his diſdainful air, which ſhame prevented him from manifeſting by a direct refuſal; notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Reubel; notwithſtanding his favourite cry of, '*honourable conditions*,' and his poſitive declaration that he would not ſign the Treaty, it was, as it were, wreſted from them by force, and inſtantly concluded.

This, I am of opinion, was the greateſt ſervice it was poſſible for me to render my country, in the circumſtances which we were

then placed. But this infringement on the diplomatic province of Reubel, which the ſituation of affairs rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary, was an affront never to be forgiven by that deceitful and vindictive ſtateſman.

Although the collective force of the enemies oppoſed to Bonaparte was thus conſiderably diminiſhed, and although he had now his flanks and his rear free from annoyance, yet he had not ſufficient forces to procure him any deciſive advantages over the Emperor. He demanded a ſuccour of 15,000 men; I formed a plan for ſending him 30,000. The neceſſary orders were immediately communicated to the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, and to that of the Sambre and Meuſe, to detach without delay, and as ſecretly as poſſible, 15,000 men each to join the army of Italy, filing off under various pretexts along the frontiers of Switzerland. It was a ſimilar movement of 40,000 men, detached from the army of the Moſelle towards the Meuſe, under the orders of Jourdan, at the moment when they were expected to march towards the

Rhine, that decided, in the year 1793, the fate of that famous campaign.

The 30,000 men, deſtined for the army of Italy, were to be at firſt detached from the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, and then one-half the number replaced from that of the Sambre and Meuſe. Never were orders more punctually or more faithfully executed. Moreau, who foreſaw the poſſibility of an arrangement of that nature, had long held a body of troops in reſerve for that purpoſe; and although his army was in a worſe condition than the other, becauſe it could not like that live at the expences of the enemy, and the poverty of the finances prevented any relief being given to their neceſſities, yet he made ſome ſacrifices, in order that the *corps de reſerve* might be tolerably well equipped, and ready to depart at the firſt ſignal. The ſignal was given, and the troops marched and arrived on the frontiers of Montblanc, before the enemy could ſuſpect they were deſtined for the army of Italy.

O Moreau! O beloved Fabius of France! how great didſt thou appear in this glorious tranſaction! how ſuperior wert thou to thoſe petty rivalſhips that ſometimes cauſe the beſt concerted projects to miſcarry! Let men accuſe thee, on the one hand, of not having denounced Pichegru, and on the other for denouncing him; all I know is, that my heart whiſpers me, that Moreau cannot be guilty. Yes, my heart proclaims thee a true hero. Yes, poſterity will be more juſt than thy cotemporaries, and will erect altars to thy memory.

'*Even the political exiſtence of the Pope was dear to him.*'

It is moſt probable, ſince Bailleul does not ſay any thing that is not '*ſupported by official papers in the hands of the miniſters*,' that there muſt have been found, among thoſe papers, a correſpondence between Pius VI. and myſelf, which muſt have been intercepted! Why then does not Bailleul amuſe the public with ſome

extracts from this correſpondence? The Pope, no doubt, muſt have ſent me ſome relics and plenary indulgences to bring me over to his intereſts, and theſe muſt have been ſeized when the ſeals were put upon my papers!

The little Réveillère was in fact *ſo much afraid of the Pope* that he continually fancied he ſaw him purſuing him, and holding up his fingers to give him his benediction. The Vicar of Chriſt was a dangerous rival to a man who was alſo deſirous of becoming the head of a ſect. One night Réveillère formed the deſign of becoming a Great Man. We ought never to reſiſt inſpirations from above—but how was ſo laudable an object to be attained? After deep conſideration, Réveillère determined to become one of the Theophilanthropiſts. This, it is true, might be conſidered as a new road to the temple of Fame, although it had already been tried by ſeveral. But we ſhould recollect, that although Sir Iſaac Newton was not the original diſcoverer of the principle of gravity, he is nevertheleſs conſidered

as the author of the ſyſtem of attraction, becauſe it was he who diſcovered its laws, and fixed its proportions.

Réveillère then, who diſbelieves the exiſtence of a God, and paſſes his life in tormenting mankind, enrolled himſelf among thoſe who profeſſed to be worſhippers of the Supreme Being and benefactors of the human race; and dreaming that he was already the founder of a new religion, that he was another Mahomet, he immediately ſet about compoſing his Koran. This work, to produce which he tortured all his mental powers during ſeveral months (not having, like his predeceſſor, a pigeon to whiſper in his ears), ſhows the exact extent of his capacity. This *chef d'œuvre* was read to the National Inſtitute, and nothing but the high dignity of the author reſtrained the laughter of the audience, who pinched and tormented themſelves to avoid ſleeping. But, alas! they were not delighted as they ought to have been at hearing this work: it was too profound to be intelligible to the members of the Inſtitute. He received

no compliments, and the journals even forgot to notice it. Réveillère was ſtung to the ſoul at this neglect, and from that moment became captious, peeviſh, and a planner of new revolutions: unable to be a Mahomet, he now reſolved to be a Cid.

The Catholic religion in particular became the object of his Theophilanthropic rage: and all who laughed at the name of Theophilanthropiſt, all who thought of the Theophilanthropiſts as Cicero did of the Aruſpices, were conſidered by Réveillère as furious Papiſts. I had the mortification to be no admirer of the dogmas of this new ſect, though I did not abſolutely ridicule them. Univerſal toleration is the only dogma I profeſs. I think the balance is nearly equal between the good ariſing from ſincere religion, and the evil from its abuſes; I abhor fanaticiſm, and am of opinion that the fanaticiſm of irreligion, which was brought into faſhion by the *Marats* and the *Peres Duchêne*, is the moſt baneful of all. In a word, I think we ought not to put men to death to make

them believe, nor to prevent their believing, but that we ought to pity the weakneſſes of others, ſince each of us has ſome of his own, and leave prejudices to wear themſelves out by time, when we cannot overcome them by reaſon.

I am nearly of the ſame opinion with regard to the liberty of the preſs. The abuſe of that liberty is, no doubt, a great evil, but an attempt to fix its limits is a ſtill greater. I am of opinion that the licentiouſneſs of the preſs produces in time its own remedy; that there is neither civil nor political liberty wherever the preſs is not free; that we muſt unavoidably either ſubmit to an arbitrary government, or endure the editors of newſpapers. Yet no one has been more the victim of their calumnies than myſelf.

Such is my creed on theſe two important points; erroneous perhaps in its theory, but ſurely it may be maintained without incurring criminality. I have often declared it to the

Directory, but to them it is an unintelligible language: it might with equal hope of ſucceſs be propoſed to the Grand Signor to throw open his ſeraglio to all the youth of Conſtantinople. Our republican Directors wiſh France to be under the dominion of a political inquiſition, and to become a vaſt living tomb, reſembling the priſons of Genoa, on the gates of which was inſcribed, as it were in deriſion, the word *Libertas*.

But to return to the Pope. Réveillère, who believes that whoever is not a Theophilanthropiſt muſt neceſſarily be a Catholic and ought to be crucified, thought he beheld in me a ſtaunch friend of the court of Rome. I had beſtowed much praiſe on Bonaparte for having diſdained the empty glory of marching againſt that city, in order to attack a more dangerous enemy, the defeat of whom muſt neceſſarily cauſe the fall of Rome and of all the ſtates of Italy. The Theophilanthropiſt, on the contrary, was deſirous that the army ſhould march directly to the Capitol, and chant a hymn over the tomb

of the Gracchi. To him the carrying off the worm-eaten Virgin of Loretto appeared a far more important victory than the bearing away in triumph the ſtandards of the batallion of Vienna.

I might have renounced both Jeſus Chriſt and the Pope a hundred times a day, yet it would have been impoſſible to perſuade Réveillère but that I was one of the moſt rigid of Catholics. Great men have ſometimes certain moral diſorders of which it is extremely difficult to cure them: Paſcal fancied himſelf conſtantly plunged up to the navel in a river. Réveillère continually fancies himſelf in a veſſel of holy water. But we ought to forgive this weakneſs, in conſideration of the *memorable ſervices* he has rendered to his country. He is one of our ſaviours, and all who behold this "lamb without blemiſh" ſhould exclaim with the Italian preacher, *Ecco il vero policinello!*

'*He was for converting all our conqueſts into ſeparate kingdoms, and the creation of a kingdom*

of Lombardy particularly flattered his imagination; and Barthelemy showed, by the most significant nods, how much this system pleased him.'

My memory is so treacherous, on this occasion, that I should have been glad if Bailleul had proved this fact, by citing some passages from *'the official papers in the hands of the ministers,'* by which, as he has declared, all the facts advanced by him are confirmed. It seems that on this point I have not reserved my plans *in petto*, but that I have explicitly proposed them to the Directory. I must have fully explained my system, since Barthelemy expressed his approbation by *'significant nods.'* Could no traces of all this be found in the journals of the Directory, and the *procès-verbaux* of their sittings, where every thing of importance that passes is taken down? Each member has a right, according to the Constitution, to record his opinion on the journals; and this is very frequently done.

The Directory, who, according to the expression of Barras in his speech to Bonaparte, had

long ſince premeditated in its wiſdom' the immortal victory of the 18th Fructidor, had now a very fine opportunity of convicting me of royaliſm, and of preparing an act of accuſation againſt me which I could not have rebutted, when the great day ſhould come; by inſcribing in the *procès-verbal* the thundering anſwer each of the members muſt have made to me, when I had the baſeneſs to propoſe the converſion of all our conqueſts into ſo many kingdoms.

What ſay you to this, Bailleul? Confeſs that it is an unpardonable omiſſion. This is really a blunder, and the moſt ſkilful men ſometimes commit them. I have, however, already obſerved to you, Bailleul, that you took full ſix months to give a ſemblance of truth to your lies; but, for want of theſe precious documents, which would have thrown ſo much light on the ſecret ſprings of the conſpiracy, I am obliged to have recourſe to the repoſitory of my memory for the grounds on which the triumvirates have built this impertinent falſehood; at length,

I think, I have diſcovered a ſlender clue that leads to it. Here it is.

I recommended giving to the Duke of Parma ſome portions of the Papal territories, (notwithſtanding my affection for his holineſs), and part of thoſe of Modena in exchange for Louiſiana and Florida, which the King of Spain was to have ceded to us for the ſake of procuring a more conſiderable eſtabliſhment for the Infant. In this I perceived two advantages; 1ſt, The advantage, not of creating a new republic in Europe, but, on the contrary, *of republicanizing a fine extenſive tract of country in America, which would have given us ſo great an influence over the United States*, and of which the blunderers, or the traitors, who negotiated the Treaty with Spain did not procure the ceſſion, although it was perfectly eaſy to be obtained. 2d. That of oppoſing a ſtronger barrier to the Emperor in Italy than the Ciſalpine Republic alone; for the King of Spain being thereby powerfully intereſted in the protection of that country, would have been an

important counterpoiſe to the Houſe of Auſtria. Add to this, it would have been a farther means of ſecuring the continuance of peace, and of the alliance of the French Republic with Spain: for then, Spain would have felt the want of us to aſſiſt her in oppoſing the Emperor in Italy; and had ſhe been inclined to declare war, ſhe would have been expoſed to be attacked by us in two places at once. This, then, was the beſt pledge we could receive of a permanent alliance with Spain. But the penetrating eye of the triumvirate immediately diſcovered, that the true object was to revive the kingdom of Lombardy; and the dread of this imaginary kingdom prevented them from aggrandizing the Republic with an immenſe territory now uſeleſs and even prejudicial to Spain, and from holding out their helping hand to thoſe Frenchmen who have ſo long been panting for a re-union with their true mother-country—much to the honour of our *republican directors!*

As to that multitude of petty kingdoms with which (like ſo many planets) I was deſirous of

ſurrounding the ſun of the Republic, although this is particularly calculated to *flatter the imagination*, I confeſs I have not the ſmalleſt recollection of it whatever; but, I promiſe Bailleul, to anſwer him on this point as ſoon as he ſhall produce the *official papers* which are in the hands of the miniſters.

The ſignificant nods of Barthelemy are alſo, no doubt, among the *official papers in the hands of the miniſters*, and Bailleul will one day tell us in what ſhape they appear there. Poor Barthelemy would be extremely aſtoniſhed were it announced to him, on the bed of ſtraw where his infirmities repoſe in a country of ſavages, that he was ſent thither for his *ſignificant nods* when I propoſed the creation of kingdoms. "Alas!" he would ſay, "I thought I had never heard my colleague Carnot talk of kingdoms but to deſtroy them. Let me, I beſeech you, die in peace among theſe good people who are far leſs deſerving the name of ſavages than yourſelves. Go, depart from theſe huts into which corruption has never yet found its way. Is it poſſible

that any government ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of juſtifying its acts of cruelty, by recurring to ſuch baſe artifices, ſuch barefaced lies ? "

I have now exhauſted the article of the text relative to myſelf in the Report of Bailleul. I proceed to the note (p. 52 and 53). Here, no doubt, the grand ſecrets will all be divulged.

' *It was not merely by ſupporting the cauſe of Auſtria, and ſaying it was intended to oppreſs her, that Carnot betrayed the ſyſtem he was ſecretly purſuing in order to overthrow the Republic !* '

' *When the affairs of Holland were under diſcuſſion; when the plan of the treaty was digeſting, wherein it was intended faithfully to perform the promiſe made to that new republic, not to ſeparate our intereſts from hers; when the means were under conſideration, by which that country might be reſcued from the convulſions with which it was*

equally threatened by the Stadtholderians and the Anarchiſts; when meaſures were ſought for by which a government might be eſtabliſhed in that country, and its liberty ſecured, Carnot maintained that Holland muſt be ſacrificed, that we ought to be indifferent to her fate, and that we ought not to make ourſelves uneaſy ſhould England keep ſome of her ſettlements. Let them fight,' ſaid he, 'as long as they will; to us, that will be no great diſadvantage.'

Whence, Bailleul, did you get all theſe fine things? not from the *official papers in the hands of the miniſters:* for words are not placed in the hands of the miniſters, and, particularly, words ſpoken in the ſittings of the Directory; you muſt, then, have received them from our auguſt directors, whoſe veracity they fully demonſtrate. It is curious to hear a Reubel talk of fidelity; it is curious to hear the triumvirate unfold their principles of morality, and accuſe *him* of violating its precepts who has been ruined merely by his adherence to principle and to the laws, and becauſe he would not employ any other arms than

principle and the laws, againſt men who advanced to the combat with all the weapons of *Machiaveliſm* and of crimes.

But you yourſelf, Bailleul, you who are their faithful interpreter, do you not (in p. 47) deliver their profeſſion of faith and your own, when you ſay to the Legiſlative Body, '*I repeat it, Let us baniſh theſe abſurd theories of pretended principles, theſe ſtupid innovations of the Conſtitution?*' The whole of your own ſyſtem, and that of your heroes, is compriſed in theſe few words: — Principle is only fit for fools; — the Conſtitution is only fit for fools; — honour and fidelity to our engagements are only fit for fools; — there is no ſuch thing as right, but for him who is the ſtrongeſt; — all other theories of pretended principles are abſurd, and he who appeals to them is a dolt!

Have not the events of the 18th Fructidor demonſtrated this? And, beſides, *it is needleſs to prove the exiſtence of light.* All the annals of antiquity are in favour of the ſyſtem of Bailleul!

The ſtupid Ariſtides was baniſhed from his natiye country; the ſtupid Miltiades died in priſon; the ſtupid Socrates ſwallowed hemlock; the ſtupid Cato was reduced to the neceſſity of putting an end to his own exiſtence; the ſtupid Cicero was aſſaſſinated by order of the triumvirs; the ſtupid Phocion, when an Athenian, who ſaw him conducted to priſon, cried out "Oh! worthy old man, who could have believed it poſſible thou ſhouldſt come to ſuch an end!" replied, "Have not all thoſe, who have rendered important ſervices to their country, experienced a ſimilar fate?"

You, Bailleul, have laid down in your work ſome moſt admirable maxims, far ſuperior to the dull precepts of philoſophy!

But let us return to the ſubject of Holland.—Never was it under diſcuſſion with the Executive Directory, to find means of *reſcuing that country from the convulſions with which the Stadtholderians and the Anarchiſts equally threatened it.* Never did they talk of *meaſures to be taken to eſtabliſh a government and ſecure their liberty.*

I defy any one to find a word on the ſubject in their journals, except a few letters, written by myſelf to the Generals, on the internal police of the country. Our *Republican directors* were employing themſelves on much more important affairs, on *propoſitions far more honourable to France!* They were buſy in inquiring HOW THEY MIGHT PLUNDER HOLLAND, and *by what lure they could induce the Dutch themſelves to aſſiſt in this generous deſign!*

At the diſcuſſion which was held, to determine on what footing that country ſhould be placed, in the Treaty then negotiating at Liſle with Lord Malmeſbury, Reubel made a violent harangue againſt the Batavian nation. He ſaid, they were all Stadtholderians, and had conſtantly betrayed us. They were a nation of merchants, whoſe intereſts were centered in England, whoſe wiſhes were in favour of the Engliſh, who were only watching for an opportunity to ſurrender themſelves to the Engliſh, into whoſe hands Admiral T. Lucas had recently delivered his fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

Every thing that Holland had to gain in proſperity and in riches, it was evident, could only be at the expence of France, and to the advantage of England. In ſhort, there was but one line of conduct to purſue with regard to Holland—'TO KEEP HER IN THE MOST ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE—TO SUBJECT HER TO A PASSIVE OBEDIENCE—AND TO TREAT HER AS A CONQUERED COUNTRY!!!'

"If this be ſo," ſaid I, "we are very unwiſe to continue the war merely for the reſtoration of their colonies; or, when our own are offered us, to exhauſt the remains of our marine in vain efforts to ſerve ſo ungrateful a nation. I am of opinion that Holland ſhould be aſked, what ſacrifices ſhe is willing to make to obtain peace."

"But, do you imagine," replied Reubel, "that it is for Holland that I would demand the reſtitution of the Cape and Trincomale? The firſt object is that of recovering the poſſeſſion of them, for which purpoſe the Dutch muſt furniſh the ſhips and the money, and afterwards I will

clearly convince them that theſe colonies belong to us !!! "

I was not a little ſtruck with the deep policy of Reubel, and I clearly perceived that he had dived to the bottom of his ſubject. I was deſirous, however, that he ſhould explicitly declare what was intended to be done at Liſle, that it might be underſtood whether there was a real wiſh to effect a pacification, or merely to impoſe on the world. It was neceſſary that the deliberation ſhould be brought to a concluſion. The plenipotentiaries were urgent to receive poſitive inſtructions. At length we concluded (and Reubel himſelf was the ſpeaker) by ordering the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs to write, that, with reſpect to the Batavians, the Directory had fulfilled the duties of a faithful ally, by declaring they would not give up any of their poſſeſſions, but that it now remained for them to ſay *what ſacrifices they could reſolve on for the ſake of peace; that if it was their determination not to give up any thing, they ſhould declare what reſources they would offer for the continuance of the*

war; that if theſe reſources, added to thoſe of France, were inadequate to thoſe which the Engliſh would employ againſt them, France would then be neceſſitated to make a ſeparate peace.

Thus, Bailleul, you perceive that my concluſions were adopted. But it was done merely through reſpect, and becauſe they could not act otherwiſe, without proving themſelves reſolved, at any rate, to continue the war. All that I know, is, that ſuch was the reſult of the deliberation. The official document exiſts in the hands of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and it proves, that on this, as on every other point, *you impoſed on the Legiſlative Body and the whole nation.*

Now that the Directory, no longer reſtrained by the fear of oppoſition, HAVE TAKEN OFF THE MASK; now that they have declared they would not lay down their arms *till England ſhould be exterminated;* they have nothing left to do but to gloſs over their fury for maſſacres with all that can ſeduce a people who place

implicit confidence in their leaders, and excite their enthuſiaſm in the cauſe. It is evident, on the other hand, that they perſuaded the Dutch that it is merely on their account, and through a ſtrict fidelity to their engagements to them, that they make this great ſacrifice of peace and of national proſperity.

Confeſs, then, Bailleul, that if the practice of fidelity is only calculated for the *ſtupid*, the term is at leaſt convenient to men of talents. But you are not, perhaps, aware, that in holding this language you are making the Directory contract *never to treat with the Engliſh ſo long as they ſhall perſiſt in retaining any part of their Dutch conqueſts;* that is, you are announcing to all France, that there remains no hope whatever of peace; that the honour of the nation requires that the Republic ſhould no longer enjoy any commerce; that Martinique ſhould be definitively ſacrificed; the Eaſt India ſettlements irretrievably given up to Great Britain; and that our allies ſhould be, in point of *fact*, completely ſacrificed, provided that, in point of

right, neither they nor ourſelves have given up the ſmalleſt portion of their territorial poſſeſſions. It clearly appears, that there are lawyers in the Executive Directory! And theſe are what are called *honourable propoſals*, worthy of our *Republican directors!*

'*When the republican troops were defending Kehl with ſo much bravery, Carnot maintained that this fort could not be preſerved, and that it was a folly to defend it. And yet, had not the long defence of that poſt detained the enemy's army before it, that army would have marched to the relief of the Imperial troops in Italy.*'

In ſupport of this aſſertion, I appeal to the *official papers*, whence it will appear with what effrontery this BAREFACED LIE is penned.—Let all the letters I have written on this ſubject be read, and it will be ſeen that I have a thouſand and a thouſand times laid down the neceſſity of defending Kehl to the laſt extremity. A great many lives, it is true, were ſacrificed there; and had our *Republican directors* ſeen no

object in the defence of Kehl, but that of a ſingle poſt, they would have ſacrificed the whole army to preſerve it, without knowing what advantage would be derived from it. This advantage I afterwards explained to them. The obſtinacy with which I perſiſted in defending Kehl aroſe, in fact, from my wiſh to detain Prince Charles on the banks of the Rhine, by working upon his ſelf-love, and thus to prevent him from marching into Italy. Prince Charles committed that grand error; and, in lieu of abandoning Kehl (where nothing could be done during the winter, on account of the ſnows that prevented the French from penetrating again into Swabia), and flying to relieve Mantua, he perſiſted in his determination to take this fort, and was too late to relieve that city.

The whole of this ſyſtem is detailed in innumerable letters which I wrote, on this ſubject, to the army. But my colleagues, except Le Tourneur, did not even know their contents; they ſigned them confidentially; and I have, from time to time, joked with them on this

ſubject, and reminded them of their unjuſtly reproaching me on the ſubject of ſignatures, when I was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. But they then ſtood in need of my co-operation and ſupport; and it was not till the danger was paſſed and there was nothing more to be done, that theſe *Republican and honourable directors* thought proper to ſend me to Guyana.

When Kehl was reduced to the laſt extremity, when Moreau diſpatched a courier to inform us that he was loſing a prodigious number of his troops, and that he was in danger of having his bridges deſtroyed and his retreat to Straſburg cut off, I propoſed to empower that general to ſurrender the fort as ſoon as he ſhould judge it indiſpenſably neceſſary for the preſervation of the army. But Reubel, who makes a ſport of ſacrificing the defenders of our country, who, deteſting Moreau, was deſirous of involving him in misfortunes, oppoſed the ſurrender of Kehl, and I had great difficulty in procuring permiſſion to ſtop the effuſion of human blood;

nor did I at length ſucceed but by rendering this Reubel, and his worthy rivals in cruelty, reſponſible for all that ſhould be uſeleſſly ſhed. The danger was ſo imminent that Moreau could not wait for this laſt anſwer, his bridges being broken and upon the point of giving way under his troops.

'When the laſt paſſage over the Rhine was under diſcuſſion, Carnot continually retarded it, notwithſtanding it was inceſſantly urged to him how uſeful this diverſion would be to the army of Italy: he always maintained that this movement was impracticable, and that all was not ready, although the whole army can atteſt the contrary; he would not even admit of a feint of that nature, which would have drawn the imperial troops to that ſide, and would have relieved and encouraged the army of Italy, which was in a ſituation of diſtreſs. He even wrote to the army of Italy, that the army of the Rhine could not paſs that river within two months at ſooneſt. It was at this time that the Treaty of Leoben was concluded, wherein ſome ſacrifices were conſented

to, which would not have been neceſſary had the enemy been attacked on both ſides at once. No ſooner did the ſignature of that treaty tranſpire, than Carnot came forward inſtantly, with every arrangement ready for the paſſage of the Rhine, for which orders were given the very ſame day.'

There are no facts here ſtated but what are proved to be abſurd by the *official papers*; and the major part are abſolutely impoſſible.

The Treaty of Leoben was ſigned on the 18th of April, at a diſtance of nearly 300 leagues from Paris, where the news could not arrive till ſix days after at the ſooneſt, that is, till the 24th.

But the paſſage of the Rhine took place on the 20th of April, and therefore was effected four days before the Treaty of Leoben was known at Paris, it could by no means, therefore, be reſolved on in conſequence of that intelligence arriving at Paris. LIARS, Bailleul, ought to be more accurate in calculating dates.

The paſſage of the Rhine took place two days after the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben, conſequently it was impoſſible it ſhould be known either at Paris or at Straſburg. It follows, therefore, that the paſſage of the Rhine was neither ordered nor executed in conſequence of the intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben being ſigned.

Do you not perceive, Bailleul, that your aſſertion reſembles that of a certain honourable witneſs, who ſwore that he had ſeen a murder perpetrated by moon-light, on a night when there was no moon? This honourable witneſs, it is ſaid, was, like you, honourable Bailleul, from Normandy! The Directory know how to chuſe their agents: All that you have ſaid is, nevertheleſs, proved by *official papers in the cuſtody of the miniſters.*

Not only the paſſage of the Rhine did not take place in conſequence of an order given ſubſequently to the knowledge of the Treaty of Leoben, but all hoſtilities had already ceaſed upon the Rhine when the news of the Treaty of

Leoben arrived at Paris. A courier extraordinary, ſent through Germany to the Generals of the army of the Rhine, produced this ceſſation of hoſtilities.

In conſequence of what orders then did Moreau paſs the Rhine on the 20th of April? He muſt neceſſarily have acted either in conformity to orders given long before, which could not till then be obeyed, and therefore YOU LIE when you ſay that no former orders exiſted, or it was in conſequence of recent orders. But as the Rhine was in fact paſſed on the 20th of April, the orders muſt at the lateſt have left Paris on the 17th, and therefore the moſt recent orders that could have been given for the paſſage of the Rhine, muſt have been at leaſt ſeven days anterior to the earlieſt intelligence that could arrive at Paris of the Treaty of Leoben. This all Europe knows, honeſt Bailleul, yet even this does not prevent you from declaring, in the face of all Europe, and that from *official papers in the hands of the miniſters*, that the paſſage of the Rhine was ordered merely in conſequence

of the intelligence of the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben.

Let us now examine the *honourable* conſequences of your officious lies, with regard to our *Republican directors*.

The intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben having arrived at Paris, at the ſooneſt, on the 24th of April, as I have proved, and the orders to paſs the Rhine having been given, as you aſſert, on the ſame day, there were on the 24th orders ready ſigned by the Executive Directory for paſſing the Rhine; but the Rhine being paſſed on the 20th, the news of that movement arrived at Paris on the 22d; that is to ſay, I propoſed to the Directory to order the army to paſs the Rhine two days after all Paris knew the Rhine had been actually paſſed, and the Directory ſigned this order. Much to the honour of the *Republican directors* — and to the honour of yourſelf, J. Ch. Bailleul !!!

And the Directory ſigned this order without remembering, that, on the 17th of April, that is, ſeven days before, they muſt have ſigned a ſimilar order, ſince in fact the Rhine had been paſſed on the 20th. Yet they ſaw me come forward inſtantly *with every arrangement ready*, without remembering that ſeven days before they had already ſeen me come forward in the ſame manner *with every arrangement ready*. Thus, then, were the *Republican directors* perfectly well informed of the affairs of the Republic! And all this is proved *by official papers in the hands of the miniſters!* If you are not *ſtupid*, honeſt Bailleul, you are at leaſt ſometimes rather ſimple!

I am aware, honeſt Bailleul, how tedious theſe odious calculations muſt appear to you; but allow me to purſue them a little farther, they are neceſſary for my juſtification; and I am fully convinced you are very happy, as well as the Directory, that I am able to prove my innocence!

The whole army, you ſay, can atteſt that every preparation had been made long before for paſſing the Rhine, and that they were only waiting for the orders of the Directory. But, ſince the triumvirate, honeſt Bailleul, knew this, why did they not, without regarding my objections, give orders for the paſſage of the Rhine? Did they not form a majority in the Directory? Have you not, in the preceding article, declared that it was contrary to my opinion that they had cauſed the fortreſs of Kehl to be defended to the laſt extremity? Why, then, did they not alſo cauſe the Rhine to be paſſed contrary to my opinion? I had made a treaty of peace againſt the opinion of Reubel; ſurely he might have given orders for a military operation without my interference! How can they explain this complaiſance, for a man by whom they knew they were deceived. If they were not yet perfectly certain that every thing was prepared for paſſing the Rhine, although *the whole army can prove that every thing was ready*, could they not inform themſelves of the fact by ſending thither a confidential perſon? Could they not, as

you have ingeniouſly ſaid, *make a feint at leaſt of paſſing the Rhine?* Did this neglect ariſe from their puſillanimity, their carleſſneſs, or their treachery? It is to you, honeſt Bailleul, that I leave the deciſion of this queſtion.

The paſſage of the Rhine, you ſay, was ordered the ſame day that intelligence arrived of the Treaty of Leoben; but do you obſerve, honeſt Bailleul, the encomium you hereby beſtow on the fidelity and honour of the Directory, of which you ſo loudly boaſt? Having learnt that a treaty is concluded, the very firſt act they perform is to give orders for the violation of it: — they give orders for a bloody battle the very moment they receive intelligence of the ceſſation of hoſtilities!

But ſuppoſing, as you would artfully inſinuate, that the official news of the Treaty had not yet arrived, that it had only *tranſpired;* was not a rumour, ſpread abroad among the public, a ſufficient inducement to wait a few hours for the arrival of the courier with diſpatches, before

orders for new maſſacres were iſſued? I had, therefore, ſufficient ground for ſaying, that theſe humane directors ſported with the lives of men, as you, honeſt Bailleul, ſport with truth, and principal, and honour.

Produce this letter which you ſay I wrote on the very day the news of the Treaty of Leoben arrived. You deny that any orders were previouſly given to paſs the Rhine, although innumerable orders to that effect exiſt in the official papers. You aſſert with the boldeſt effrontery, that orders were given on that very day, whereas the fact is evidently abſurd and impoſſible. Thus do you accumulate lies and contradictions with equal impudence and folly. Moſt aſſuredly you deſerve to be made an ambaſſador, or your lords and maſters are unpardonably ungrateful!

Obſerve, honeſt Bailleul, that I have no official papers to refer to. I deny the facts, however, becauſe I can rely with certainty on my memory; and I demonſtrate your impoſtures, becauſe you have been aukward enough, notwith-

ſtanding the time you have employed, and calculated ſo ill, that you have left me the means of proving them phyſically impoſſible. The Directory have every thing in their own hands, and may make uſe of whatever ſuits their purpoſe, and lay aſide what oppoſes it, putting half ſentences in Italics, in order to diſtort the meaning. The mere want of accuſation, after ſo elaborate an exertion, would ſuffice to prove my innocence, in the eyes of every reaſonable perſon. I wonder they have not cauſed ſpurious papers to be fabricated, and my ſignature to be forged; for they are, like you, above thoſe idle ſcruples, which are calculated only for the *ſtupid*.

But, whether they fabricate ſpurious papers or not, '*truth and time, that reveal all things*' (as you very juſtly remark, in p. 6), will ultimately prevail, and thus the biters will be bit. Thoſe muſt expect to meet with many rocks, who take ſo much pains to embark on a ſea of perfidy. I have demonſtrated their HORRID LIES: how, then, can they dare to expect that they

ſhall be any longer believed? A word or two more on the Rhine, Bailleul, and I will then diſmiſs this ſubject, which, I am ſenſible, muſt have made you *ſweat* already.

What! did the directors who, as they themſelves confeſs, have ſo long been planning in *their wiſdom* the means of ruining me; who, for this purpoſe, carried on a private correſpondence in the army; did the directors let this happy opportunity eſcape! What! did they omit to make the palace of the Directory reſound with the cry of their indignation, when I had the cruelty to propoſe the gratuitous maſſacre of ſeveral thouſand men! Yet, not one among them all roſe to accuſe me; or, aſſuming that ſuperiority which every man muſt feel over a criminal whom he ſurprizes in the very fact, exclaimed, 'Wretch! we have, during two whole months, preſſed and conjured you to order that the Rhine be paſſed, yet you have always raiſed inſurmountable difficulties; and now that we receive intelligence of the ſignature of a treaty, which procures for the Republic that peace for

which we have ſo long been panting, you coldly recommend the violation of the Treaty, and the fruitleſs maſſacre of the defenders of our country ! '

' My colleagues ! (he would have continued, addreſſing the reſt of the directors) I demand that the words I have juſt pronounced be recorded in the *procès-verbal*, as a ground for the future conviction of the criminal, and I recommend to you to follow my example. I demand that a meſſage be immediately ſent to the Legiſlative Body to denounce this traitor and prepare an act of accuſation."

What could I have replied to this charge ? Who, in that body, would have dared to have opened his mouth in my favour ? Had any one attempted to defend me, would he not have been immediately hiſſed down, and compelled to be ſilent ? What corner of the world would have offered me an aſylum againſt the furies that would have purſued me, or the Promethëan vulture that would have gnawed my liver ?

On the contrary, what was the fact? Each of theſe benignant directors ſigned, without heſitation or obſervation, the fatal order for a maſſacre, and diſpatched it to the army the very ſame day. Parricidal directors! it is evident you would really have ſigned thoſe abominable orders, had they been offered to you for ſignature. In the blindneſs of your fury, you do not even perceive that you are accuſing yourſelves; the confeſſion of the crime eſcapes you unawares. You miſs your prey, are caught in your own ſnare, and remain bound to the ſtake of ignominy — AND THERE MAY YOU REMAIN !!!

And yet all France does not riſe with one accord againſt theſe monſters of iniquity! And yet France calls itſelf free!! And the Legiſlative Body remains unoppreſſed!!!

Never was an operation urged with ſo much ardour, as the paſſage of the Rhine by me. The triumvirs, who, as I have ſaid, never knew the extent of our reſources; who, like

Xerxes, would willingly have flogged the Rhine, the ſea, and all the elements that oppoſed the leaſt reſiſtence to their will; lolling at eaſe on their couches, declared that the Rhine *muſt* be paſſed — but how this was to be effected gave them very little concern. The Rhine is not to be forded, and bridges were neceſſary. Moreau aſked for a very trifling ſum of money, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary for their conſtruction. This money, which the Miniſter of Finances was continually ſaying ſhould immediately be ſent off, or was actually ſent, never arrived. At length, Moreau determined to come himſelf to Paris to wreſt it from the Treaſury. I prevailed with him to ſet off on his return immediately, and riſk a blow, even were he not prepared for it. Moreau, however, had no need of being preſſed on this point. Never had the Republic a more faithful or a more modeſt ſervant. He returned, and the paſſage of the Rhine was executed! He aſtoniſhed no one, except the enemy. In France, they were ſatiated with victory. I did not myſelf expect ſo rapid a ſucceſs. To avoid deceiv-

ing the Army of Italy, and prevent them from advancing too far, before ſuccours could arrive; in ſhort, to prevent them from placing themſelves *in a dangerous predicament* (read over your accuſation once more, Bailleul), it was requiſite that I ſhould tranſmit them an accurate account of what I learned from the Rhine, and, conſequently, inform them that all was not yet ready, nor would be for ſome time.

The paſſage of that river, however, was executed quicker than could have been expected, or even hoped; for they hazarded a great deal, merely to reſcue the Army of Italy from its *dangerous predicament*. But, aſſuredly, had the Army of Italy even been apprized by a telegraph, that the Rhine would be paſſed in two days, it would have been no leſs neceſſary to conclude the Treaty of Leoben. Joubert, notwithſtanding his more than human reſiſtance, notwithſtanding his gigantic combats, was nevertheleſs forced in the Tyrol; the enemy entered Trieſt; and the army was threatened on both its flanks, and harraſſed in its rear, by the

insurgents of the Venetian territories, who were *waiting, with poniards, a favourable moment for our extermination.*

At length, the Army of the Sambre and Meuse passed the Rhine, on the very day when the Treaty of Leoben was signed. Was this step also taken because they had received intelligence of the signature of the Treaty? Yet this army was the only one that was in a condition to push the enemy with vigour, since it was at the gates of Frankfort when the courier arrived, through Germany, to inform it of the Treaty of Leoben, and cause hostilities to cease.

When the Preliminaries of Leoben were received at Paris, I rejoiced at beholding the return of peace to bless my country; and Le Tourneur participated my rejoicings: but the triumvirs groaned with vexation. *Réveillière was as furious as a tiger, and Reubel sighed deeply;* while Barras, though he highly disapproved the Treaty, yet declared that it ought, nevertheless, to be accepted. On one of the following days,

unable to contain his rage, he ſuddenly aroſe, and, addreſſing himſelf to me like a madman, "*Yes* (ſaid he) *it is to you that we are indebted for the infamous Treaty of Leoben.*" To which I replied, that I exulted in having contributed to put an end to the horrors of war. And Reubel made a ſign to Barras, to intimate that it was impolitic to attribute to me all the honour of the pacification.

Finally, Bailleul ſays, as his laſt charge—

'*In another point of view, Carnot arreſted the progreſs of the conſideration which the Republic was acquiring abroad. Under pretext of a miſtaken economy, the real tendency of which was to degrade the Republic, he propoſed not to appoint any ambaſſadors; he would only have employed chargés d'affaires: the conſequence would have been, that the envoys of the Republic would have held the loweſt rank at every court — whereas, the ambaſſadors of France have the precedency of all others, except thoſe of the Germanic Confederation!*'

I have already obſerved that truth itſelf is transformed into a lie, when it paſſes through the impure organs of THESE THREE TYRANTS and their tools. This is an additional confirmation of my aſſertion.

It is true I thought it would be advantageous, for a conſiderable time, to abſtain from ſending miniſters and ambaſſadors to the various courts, *excepting thoſe where we could nearly dictate the law; as, for inſtance, in Piedmont, in Holland, and in Spain:* and this I propoſed to the Directory. But the motive of economy was but a very inferior conſideration. The true reaſon I aſſigned was, that the Republic having humiliated all the other powers by their victories, it was to be feared that, peace being once made, thoſe of the powers who were beyond our reach would ſhow their reſentment for this humiliation, if not by direct inſults, at leaſt by expreſſions of pointed indignities, towards our ambaſſadors, and by marked preferences of the envoys of the royal courts, highly offenſive to the Republic. That hence we ſhould be ex-

poſed either to take up arms to revenge theſe outrages, or ſhamefully to put up with the affront. It appears to me, that the events which have ſince taken place, the innumerable inſults to the national flag, and the violences committed on the very perſons of our envoys (although the great work of peace is not yet completed), are no ſmall juſtifications of this train of argument.

I am aware how diſpleaſing this muſt be to thoſe who are ſuing for embaſſies at the hands of the Directory; but the little ceremony they uſe towards every foreign miniſter, of whom they think they have any cauſe of complaint, expoſes them to repriſals, the dangerous effects of which I was deſirous of preventing.

Thus it appears, that ſo far from endeavouring to degrade the Republic, it was from a deſire that we ſhould not loſe our conſideration abroad, that I propoſed to continue ſome years without ſending ambaſſadors to the diſtant courts; and that the Directory, attributing my propoſal to

motives which they well knew were not my genuine reaſons — here again LIE with their accuſtomed perfidy.

But how are nations degraded? not, I imagine, by endeavouring to foreſee and prevent whatever might become a ſubject of humiliation, or deſtroy the pledge of their tranquillity; not, I imagine, by endeavouring to place it in that proſperous ſituation, in which the diſplay of their ſtrength, being proportioned to their reproductive reſources, inſures the ſtability of their government.

No: a nation is degraded by its repreſentatives, when they abuſe the office they fill, in order to deceive it by the moſt execrable impoſtures, and proſcribe the moſt faithful defenders of its intereſts.

They are degraded when they are miſled, and rendered unprincipled, hardened, and corrupted; when they are made to bluſh for their virtues, taught to trample all principle under their feet,

and when thoſe who act conformably to the conſtitution are branded with the epithet of *ſtupid*.

They are degraded, when they are robbed of all their rights, and an arbitrary and tyrannic ſyſtem is ſubſtituted for the ſocial compact they had accepted, and are told that this is liberty!

They are degraded, when the calumniators, the intolerant, and the ſhameleſs, obtain the title of true patriots; when he whom the public voice points out as the greateſt ſhuffler, the moſt depraved and the moſt deſpotic, is ſure to be the man who obtains the confidence of the government.

They are degraded, when the ſervants of the people, betraying the ſacred cauſe they had undertaken to defend, become the fabricators of their own ſlavery; when we behold them fawning in the antichambers of the diſtributors of places; when they are proud of humbling themſelves to the duſt, cover themſelves with

diſgrace, and acknowledge, as an invariable maxim, that whoever reſpects the national repreſentation is a royaliſt!

Thus it is, honeſt Bailleul, that a people are degraded, or, rather, that they would in time become ſo, were it poſſible that a nation of thirty millions of intrepid and generous citizens could be degraded by the depravity of their governors, and the baſeneſs of a few faithleſs ſervants. No! to that nation every thing that is grand and ſublime belongs, nor can any thing that is great be performed but by their reſiſtleſs maſs; while all the follies and littleneſſes they ſeem to commit are but the work of a few individuals whom alone they can diſhonour.

Thus have I detailed the act of accuſation drawn up by the Executive Directory. I have examined it charge by charge; I have proved that each of theſe charges was the act of accuſation of the Directory themſelves, nor can all their reſentment tear a ſingle trophy from the monument of infamy I have been erecting to their

memory. Let them, on their part, erect another to immortalize their victory of the 18th Fructidor. The true friends of liberty muſt be deſirous they ſhould; it is a triumph they are preparing for them: theſe monuments will, however, be one day deſtroyed, they will be carried away with a breath of air, like a Coloſſus with feet of crumbling clay, or like that ſtatue which cruſhed the chimera of federation in the *Place des Invalids*. The 2d of September and the 31ſt of May were alſo at one time immortal days. But what are they now? They are preciſely what the 18th Fructidor will one day become. Marat was carried in triumph to the Pantheon, and ſoon after his carcaſe was thrown into a common ſewer; and SUCH IS THE FINAL JUDGEMENT THAT AWAITS THE TRIUMVIRS.

In the meanwhile I will endeavour to throw a few rays of light on the character of thoſe hideous monſters. But to do this I muſt reſume the act of accuſation. The proofs muſt be had from the *honeſt Bailleul*, who will certify upon

his conſcience (which is not that of a *ſtupid fellow*) that they are in the hands of the miniſters; that is to ſay, in the mouth of their cannon. *Republican directors* muſt certainly be believed upon their words. Every one knows it is by implicit faith that men are to be ſaved, eſpecially the repreſentatives of the people, and that there is a place called Guyana for infidels.

After ſix months then of laborious reſearch, and after employing all the talents of their hired fabricators of documents, the *Republican Directory* have at length diſcovered—

1ſt, *That I denied that aſſaſſinations were committed:* — whereas all I have ſaid or written proves diametrically the oppoſite to be the truth —whereas the Directory have in their own hands the papers I myſelf furniſhed for the proſecution and conviction of aſſaſſins—whereas it is this very *Republican Directory*, who have ſheltered theſe aſſaſſins beneath their protecting wing, and have conſtantly refuſed to cauſe them to be puniſhed.

2d, *That I oppoſed the diſmiſſal of Willot*:—whereas the *Republican directors* formed a majority in the Directory, and conſequently retained Willot in place, notwithſtanding the conviction they declare themſelves to have felt, that Willot was a murderer and a cut-throat.

3d, *That I had every day ſecret and confidential interviews with Pichegru*:—whereas I never ſaw Pichegru but once by appointment, and then not in ſecret or confidentially, and once more by chance for two minutes in the preſence of ten witneſſes, and without ſpeaking to him—whereas I did all I could by indirect means to induce him to decide in favour of the patriots.

4th, *That I was the advocate of kings and of the emperor*:—whereas I voted for the death of Louis, made every other king tremble, and ſtormed the imperial throne—whereas it was the *Republican directors* who, having during five months reſiſted the concluſion of a treaty which was advantageous for the republic, at laſt concluded a treaty that renders the emperor more

powerful than ever, and ſuch as might have been expected had his troops been conſtantly victorious in Italy.

5th, *That I ſupported the political exiſtence of the Pope:*—whereas by making peace with Naples, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *Republican directors*, I robbed the Pope of the only ſupport by which he could maintain his political exiſtence—whereas I propoſed to the *Republican directors*, who were averſe to the meaſure, to ſtrip the Pope of his temporal power, in order to transfer it to another power (Spain), that might have become a counterpoiſe to the Houſe of Auſtria, and annihilated his pretenſions to the titles of Emperor and King of the Romans; titles which will ere long be realiſed in that houſe, after having coſt France a great deal of blood: and all this ariſing from the meaſures of ſuperlative wiſdom and foreſight purſued in Italy by our *Republican directors*.

6th, *That I was deſirous to convert all our conqueſts into kingdoms, and particularly to re-*

vive the kingdom of the Lombards :—whereas, on the contrary, I propoſed to our *Republican directors*, who were averſe to the meaſures, to turn our conqueſts to advantage in order to aggrandize the French republic, to convert into a republic an extenſive country of the new world, which languiſhes under the dominion of a king—whereas our *Republican directors* have *royalized* a *republic* which was among our *conqueſts*, by delivering up Venice to the Emperor!

7th, *That I was deſirous of ſacrificing Holland* :—whereas it was our *Republican directors*, who, full of *fidelity* and honour, were reſolved to plunder that nation—whereas it was they who there ſyſtematically maintained anarchy and diſorder—whereas it was they, who boaſt of *acknowledging no law but the law of the ſtrongeſt*—whereas it is certain, and will be proved ſo by the event, that the plan of the *Republican directors*, who are ſo full of *fidelity* and honour, is to unite with England, with England that is a kingdom, with England, whoſe extermination

they have ſworn, in ſharing the plunder of the poſſeſſions belonging to the Batavian *republic!*

8th, *That I oppoſed the defending Kehl as long as it was poſſible to defend it:*—whereas the *Republican Directory* have in their hands the orders given by me, and a thouſand times repeated, to defend Kehl to the laſt extremity—whereas it would be to themſelves, who formed a majority of the Directory, that the crime was to be imputed, had Kehl not been defended as it ought to have been.

9th, *That I would not give orders for the laſt paſſage of the Rhine till we had received intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben:*—whereas the Rhine was paſſed on the very day of the ſignature of the Treaty of Leoben (which is 300 leagues from Paris) by the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, and two days after by that of the Rhine and Moſelle—whereas all Paris knew of the paſſage of the Rhine two days before they could receive any intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben — whereas our *Republican directors*

accuſe themſelves of the twofold crime, 1ſt, of having themſelves, who formed the majority, neglected to give orders for paſſing the Rhine at the time when, according to them, it was practicable and neceſſary; and, 2d, of having given orders for that manœuvre at a time when it could only tend to the maſſacre of the defenders of the country, to the violation of the laws of nations, and to revive the flames of war at the very moment when the war was brought to a concluſion.

10th, *That, to rob the Republic of its conſideration abroad, I propoſed the not ſending ambaſſadors to the various courts:*—whereas our *Republican directors* well know that, on the contrary, my motive was to prevent the Republic from loſing its conſideration abroad—whereas it is they who, by their puerile haughtineſs of conduct towards the envoys of foreign courts, expoſe thoſe of the Republic to humiliating retaliations, and the Republic itſelf to the perpetual danger either of ſuffering unreſented degradations, or of renewing the war, and that nume-

rous examples have proved the juſtice of my fears in this reſpect!

I aſk, therefore, do not the fabricators of ſuch an act of accuſation deſerve *that men ſhould ſpit in their faces, horſewhip them in all the ſtreets and ſquares of Paris, affix labels on their backs and on their breaſts, with the words* IMPOSTORS, MISCREANTS, ASSASSINS, and ſend them to the Pantheon of Marat, to enjoy the immortality they have merited?—And *is not the impunity of theſe* MONSTERS *an irrefragable proof that* FRANCE IS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY?

The ſyſtem purſued by the Directory is by no means ambiguous to any one who has attentively obſerved their proceedings: their ſyſtem is evidently to found the power of the nation leſs on the aggrandiſement of the Republic, than on the weakneſs and deſtruction of its neighbours; to fight them one againſt another, to treat them as friends ſo long as they may have occaſion to paralyſe them by exhauſting all the

ſuccours they can yield, and when the time is come for cruſhing them, inſtantly to employ their fertile genius in inventing ſufficient pretexts to practice the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

Let us but attend to their conduct towards the little Cantons of Switzerland. Here it was not the oligarchy of Berne they had to contend with; it was not thoſe againſt whom ſo many grievances were alleged; it was not thoſe Cantons that had a treaſure of thirty millions, and a magnificent arſenal;—No, it was the true children of William Tell, real democrats, poor men almoſt deſtitute of any traffic, even with their neighbour! No matter, they muſt be revolutionized. Conſequently, that liberty which has rendered them happy during a period of 500 years, that liberty which has ſo long been the envy of France, is now proved not to be the liberty their welfare requires; no, they muſt chuſe between the conſtitution that is preſented to them and death. They refuſed this conſtitution, which they found leſs demo-

cratical than their own, and therefore they were maſſacred; for it is clear that nothing but fanaticiſm and intrigues could diſſuade them from accepting this pledge of their new-fangled felicity. To kill them is indeed the ſureſt means of preventing them from believing prieſts and intriguers! This handful, however, of ſimple men, who have during 300 years been utter ſtrangers to fighting, dare to reſiſt their invaders; their republican blood is mingled with that of the republicans of France, not jointly to defend the ſacred rights of nations, but gratuitouſly to maſſacre each other.

O impious war! in which the Directory ſeem to have had no other object than to know how many victims they could ſacrifice to their caprice, from among the free, the poor, and the moſt virtuous part of mankind; to aſſaſſinate Liberty in her native ſoil, and to puniſh the mountains of Helvetia for having given her birth. Worthy rivals of Griſler; the triumvirs were determined to exterminate the race of William Tell: and by them was the death of

the tyrant to be revenged. The heads of the democratic families were offered up to his manes; they died defending the frontiers of their little territory, and reſiſting the violation of their own homes. Their affrighted flocks fled to the deſarts; the Glaciers reſounded with the cries of orphans periſhing with hunger; and the ſources of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Adda, bore the tears of diſconſolate and deſpairing widows to the moſt diſtant ſeas!

Happily for me, I cannot be accuſed of having been a party to theſe diſgraceful tranſactions. Had I been a member of the Directory at that time, againſt me would the accuſation have been one day brought forward. May the political conſequences of theſe tranſactions never prove fatal to France!

Formerly, even in time of war with foreign powers, the frontiers of Switzerland, from Huninguen to Geneva, were diſarmed, becauſe the fidelity and the neutrality of the Cantons were deemed perfectly ſecure; but now that

frontier will always require FORTY THOUSAND men, partly to occupy Switzerland itſelf, and partly to preſerve the neighbouring departments, which are deſtitute of military poſts!

It was by their induſtry, and their virtue, that the democratic Cantons of Switzerland maintained their political exiſtence. *It is impoſſible theſe poor countries ſhould long be able to ſupport a foreign army, and the expences of an adminiſtration leſs popular and more coſtly than their former government.* I have already obſerved that there can be no ſtability in a ſtate, whatever be the nature of its conſtitution, unleſs there exiſts an equilibrium between the exertion of its reſources and its reproductive powers. This equilibrium is evidently deſtroyed in Switzerland; it is alſo equally deſtroyed in the Ciſalpine Republic, in that of Genoa, and in Rome. Each of theſe countries conſume more than they annually receive from nature. Thus as ſoon as the funds, on which thoſe governments ſubſiſt, are exhauſted, new troubles and diſorders will immediately ariſe. What will then be the iſſue, I

know not; but I hope it will not be *a new war of* EXTERMINATION FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC!

France herſelf, if this equilibrium is not reſtored between her receipts and her expenditures, *will infallibly experience new ſhocks.* But in France it is not nature that refuſes the means of ſubſiſtence;—on the contrary, ſhe laviſhes them in abundance, and a deficiency could only ariſe from the defects of the adminiſtration.—*Had France, inſtead of the revolution of the* 18*th Fructidor, concluded a general peace,* her proſperity would at this day have ſurpaſſed that of the happieſt nations recorded in hiſtory; *but at this moment ſhe is on the verge of inevitable ruin, unleſs her eyes are ſpeedily opened to the ſituation of her finances — unleſs the foundation of a wiſe ſyſtem of political economy is ſpeedily laid.*

The ſame line of conduct is adopted by the Directory within as they have purſued without. They conſider themſelves in the ſame point of

view, with regard to the citizens of France, as they conſider the Republic with regard to other powers; they conſider them but as ſo many enemies, on the weakening and diviſion of whom their authority can alone be founded. Inſtead of labouring, from the moment of their creation, to unite the hearts of the people, and rally them around the Conſtitution; inſtead of pouring balm into the wounds occaſioned by a long and bloody revolution; they irritate their paſſions afreſh, and make odious nicknames the order of the day. They ſend the torch of diſcord into the boſom of the Legiſlative Body; the moſt violent expreſſions are laviſhed in the meſſages of the Directory, in harangues that are totally foreign to domeſtic affairs, and even in the moſt familiar diſcourſes. Their armies are ſeduced, and their minds inflamed; they are become a deliberative body. The bitterneſs of gall is ſpread abroad by means of the newſpapers, and they employ under them the vileſt of creatures—men to whom no one would confide the moſt trifling of his perſonal concerns. Thus was the

ſmmortal day concluded, a funeral veil extended over the rights of man, and the Conſtitution ſtabbed to its vitals!

The reſolution to mutilate the national repreſentation was formed from the time of the election to the year V. It was Reubel who conceived the plan; and the reſt acquieſced in it, when the particulars were explained, and the ſucceſs repreſented as infallible.

This plan being once adopted and decided on, they began elaborately to ſearch for pretexts to juſtify the tranſaction they were '*meditating in their wiſdom;*' and theſe pretexts the leading members in the Council of Five Hundred but too amply furniſhed them with. The favours granted to the enemies of the revolution; the refuſal of juſtice to the patriots, however pure their characters; the degradation of every thing that related to the executive power; the ſhackles every where prevailing; the unjuſt reproaches and abſurd interpretations of all the proceedings

of the Directory; lying reports on the finances; inſults, menaces; refuſal of every means of acting with advantage;—theſe are the crimes with which the leading members of the Council have to reproach themſelves!

But how many of theſe leaders were there? They did not amount to fifteen. *All that was neceſſary was to exclude them from the committees, and this was the line of conduct that would have been purſued by every wiſe and enlightened man.* They even began to put this plan in execution, and the Directory trembled leſt any arrangement ſhould be adopted whereby the minds of the people would have been calmed; for then, perhaps, they would have been at a loſs for pretexts to juſtify, or means to execute, their grand deſigns.

The perpetrators of crimes, however, were triumphant; and, as in all other conſpiracies, every one of the conſpirators inſerted his perſonal enemies in the liſts of proſcriptions, without oppoſition from his accomplices. Thus Octa-

vius, Anthony, and Lepidus, reciprocally gave up to each other's revenge thoſe who were their deareſt and moſt faithful friends!

Had not terror petrified the repreſentatives of the people; had not a military force ſurrounded them; or, rather, had not the parts in the farce been previouſly diſtributed to the actors; they would have refuſed to deliberate till the liberty of the Legiſlative Body was reſtored. But, even ſuppoſing fear could force thoſe to deliberate who refuſed, it would have been enough had they obſerved that the aſſembly ought to confine themſelves to the arreſt of the accuſed members; ſince, as far as regarded the public ſafety, this accuſation would produce the ſame effect as their condemnation; a procedure which in no wiſe belonged to the Legiſlative Body, and of which the reporter himſelf declared he could not aſſign the grounds. But who could have prevented this propoſition from being adopted, had they been poſſeſſed of proofs, had they not been reduced to declare, like Bailleul, that '*we do*

not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light, and that they would imagine they had but feebly apprehended the intentions of the Legiſlative Body, if they came forwards with proofs or furniſhed juſtifications!'

On this occaſion, they ſpoke of the *conſtitutional jury* of Sieyès as of a means that might have prevented the events of the 18th Fructidor, but this idea was deſtitute of the leaſt foundation; the conſtitutional jury would themſelves have been exiled as well as the repreſentatives of the people and the members of the Directory. I know of no ſocial compact that can reſiſt the attacks of cannon; no work ſufficiently ſolid to continue unimpaired, when thoſe who are appointed its guardians are ſacrilegious enough to deſtroy it themſelves!

But if at ſome future period when the people of France ſhall have burſt their fetters, and the repreſentatives ſhaken off the lamentable oppreſſion under which they groan, theſe faviours of their country and their accomplices ſhould be

dragged to trial for the immortal day, could they with any juſtice complain when they are told, " You are brought before this tribunal for having ' *meditated in your wiſdom*,' and, in your love for the conſtitution, effected the diſſolution of the Legiſlative Body, and for acts of tyranny worthy of Louis XI. of Chriſtiern, and of Cromwell. You ſhall be dealt with in the very ſame manner, and with the very ſame weight you have uſed towards others. Thus are you firſt of all condemned, and now you are allowed to enter on your defence. But this you muſt conſider is a particular favour, for you have refuſed it to others, even after their proſcription."—— " What proofs," could they ſay, " are brought againſt us? "—' *We do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light*,' would be the anſwer.—— " But why deny the people, who are anxious to be informed, the demonſtration of our crimes? " ' *We are not come to adduce proofs or furniſh juſtifications.*' —" But we demand the obſervance of the conſtitutional laws."—' *Let us baniſh thoſe abſurd theories of pretended principles, thoſe ſtupid invocations of the conſtitution.*'—" Are we

then to be put to death?"—'No, we are full of humanity, and you will not be put to death, becauſe we have but a very few of you in our power, and we will not dip our hands in blood for ſo trifling an object; and beſides, we know not what effect it would have upon the people. It is merely an experiment we are making. We want no blood, at preſent a copious flow of tears will ſatisfy us. We know this is a grand means of ſucceeding in our experiment. You ſhall only be exiled, and your families ruined; for it is perfectly juſt, that children at the breaſt ſhould be puniſhed for the crimes of their fathers.—If your co-operators in the counter-revolution, whom we have not in our power, will have the goodneſs to go to Rochefort to be embarked for tranſportation, the property of their relations ſhall be reſtored, until the neceſſities of the ſtate ſhall oblige us to pronounce their final confiſcation. We had at firſt intended to ſend you to Madagaſcar; but, as it is ſaid the inhabitants of that iſland no longer devour men, we have determined to ſend you to Guyana, where you will be furniſhed with implements of huſbandry,

and will be very happy. Thus you ſee how mild and merciful we are. But the manners that prevail in this Republic are too effeminate. We will act better, when we ſhall have wound up the public opinion to its proper pitch, which we hope to accompliſh by influencing the next elections, as ought to be the practice in every free country. You will farther obſerve, that in your act of accuſation, where the principal charges are intirely the offspring of our own invention, you are not all expreſſly named. This formality did not appear neceſſary to the *Republican dictators*, becauſe it is not your names but your perſons that are condemned. It is true we would guillotine the loweſt officer of police who ſhould make ſuch a rhapſody; this degree of perfection belongs excluſively to the ſupreme authorities. It has been invented expreſſly for this new ſeſſion of the revolutionary tribunal, which has indulgently brought you to their bar. Thank us, then, for this elegant diſcourſe, the appoſiteneſs of which is as ſtriking as that of your grand maſter Réveillière's to the Ciſalpine

ambaſſador, when he received him, and then — Depart, go about your buſineſs.'

Perhaps ſome of the repreſentatives were really guilty; perhaps ſome among them were really royaliſts. Why not ſuſpend them, and bring them to trial according to the forms of the conſtitution? It would have been a great and a ſtriking example. " But, in the midſt of a vaſt plot and conſpiracy on the point of execution, we cannot adhere to legal forms, without incurring the greateſt danger." This was the very reaſon why the Directory have given to the ſecret and impotent manœuvres of a few individuals the ſhow of a conſpiracy, the thread of which extended to the moſt diſtant corners of the Republic. It was the next morning they were to be maſſacred. The very next day the Republic was no longer to exiſt. It was the Genius of Liberty alone that had inſpired the reſolution to fly to arms, for the indiſpenſable calls of ſelf-defence. The outpoſts of the Directorial palace had already been forced, although

the Directory had long been meditating '*in their wiſdom*,' that immortal day for which their orders were already drawn up and their proclamations printed.

They were determined then to rid themſelves of two hundred members of the two councils; but how could this be accompliſhed without ſeparating them, by ſome previous operation, from the Legiſlative Body? The ſuppoſition of a vaſt plot and conſpiracy was, therefore, indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the ſcheme the Directory were meditating '*in their wiſdom*;' and who can blame them for having done what was indiſpenſably neceſſary?

It was equally indiſpenſable, that after the execution of this ſcheme they ſhould juſtify it in the eyes of the public; and that the truth, and the facts, being againſt them, they ſhould call in the aid of lies. How can they be accuſed on this account? When lies are neceſſary, are they not alſo excuſable? Would it not be *ſtupidity* itſelf, to be ſcrupulous on ſuch an occaſion?

In ſhort, a crime was become neceſſary to ſave the commonwealth. Than this, nothing can be more evident. '*We do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light.*' A ſecond crime was neceſſary to juſtify the former, a third to juſtify the ſecond, a ſeries, an accumulation of every crime was become indiſpenſable to conceal theſe horrors. Thus, are theſe horrors in fact no horrors, and theſe crimes no crimes: they are the virtues of the Directory who, amidſt all their crimes, cannot be charged with the guilt of *ſtupidity*.

I venerate, as their merits deſerve, men who are diſtinguiſhed for their *virtues!* But, I would thank any one who would have the goodneſs to inform me, how three villains would have acted in their place had they wiſhed to become maſters of the Republic, and execute their proſcription-liſts? I would aſk, in what reſpect would the conduct of theſe miſcreants have differed from that of the *virtuous* directors? I would inquire, whether they would not have made preciſely the ſame uſe of the words republic, royaliſm, liberty, and fidelity; whether

they would not have aſſociated the ſame co-operators in their noble labours; whether they would not have juſtified their actions by ſtill more atrocious calumnies; and proved the criminality of their victims by ſaying, that '*we do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light?*'

The celebrated Mandrin alſo boaſted of his humanity: when he had brought about an 18th Fructidor in the receſſes of ſome remote foreſt; when he had robbed the paſſengers on the highway, he did not always kill them, and, above all, he did not calumniate them after he had plundered them of their property! He alſo adopted the ſublime principles of the *honeſt Bailleul.* He would in caſe of need, with the aſſiſtance of a ſpecial committee, compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his gang, have adduced *luminous* proofs that the paſſengers had only come there with an intention of murdering him, and that they had already forced his outpoſts. Retiring with his protecting comrades to ſhare the ſpoil of their *immortal day,* he was willing the diviſion ſhould be made with a truly trium-

viral fidelity; and had he lived in these days, it may be doubted, whether the *Republican Directors* would not have preferred him to Augereau, for the execution of the scheme they had '*meditated in their wisdom.*' But then, virtuous and Republican Directors well know, that the great Mandrin at length received the just reward of his crimes.

'Very well' (some one will reply), 'you have demonstrated that the transactions of the 18th and 19th Fructidor were great political crimes; but tell us what ought to have been done in the critical circumstances in which we were placed? Tell us what we ought to do, when it clearly appears that a part of the Legislative Body are about to effect a counter-revolution, and that this part of that legislature is possessed of so much influence that they will carry every resolution they support, and negative every salutary measure?'

I reply, 1st, That they might have avoided this crisis, by more deference and tenderness

towards the Legiſlative Body, by ſending them meſſages leſs harſh and imperious, by recalling ſome of the commiſſaries of the executive power, of whoſe ill-conduct theſe repreſentatives adduced innumerable proofs; in ſhort, by ſhowing a more ſincere deſire of making peace with the foreign powers, for that was the principal cauſe of the want of confidence in them. They feared that, by giving the Directory too much latitude, eſpecially in financial reſources, they would avail themſelves of theſe merely to prolong the war, rather than to bring it to a ſpeedy termination. It is certain that this line of conduct would have reconciled the greater number of the irritated repreſentatives, and that the reſt would have ſoon bluſhed at the ſhameful part they had been induced to act.

I anſwer, 2dly, that having by their haughtineſs and impudence loſt the opportunity of adopting this firſt mode, which however was the beſt, the miſunderſtanding being at length ſo great that every one was conſcious of the danger he ſhould individually incur, they ought

ſpeedily to have applied themſelves to conciliatory meaſures. The Legiſlative Body had already felt the neceſſity of adopting theſe meaſures, and had renewed their committees and their officers, and removed thoſe who had abuſed the confidence repoſed in them: the repreſentatives, who were the beſt known for their good character and their talents, had ventured to oppoſe all their incidental motions which threw the Council of Five Hundred into diſorder, that it might excluſively attend to queſtions of higher importance, and chiefly to the reſtoration of the finances. Here indeed it is, that the greateſt reproach muſt fall on the Executive Directory, as the ſmalleſt motion on their part would have reunited the majority of the repreſentatives to them: but ſo far from taking this line of conciliatory conduct, or even endeavouring to diſcover what would produce that effect, the Directory dreaded leſt a reconciliation ſhould take place. They laboured with incredible activity daily to augment the cauſes of diſcontent and of alarm, and were fearful their deep-laid plots and preparations ſhould prove fruitleſs. In

ſhort, they were determined on the execution of the grand ſcheme they had ſo long been '*meditating in their wiſdom.*'

I reply, 3dly, that the evil having once become irremediable, a 20th of June was more wanted than a 31ſt of May. The patriotic repreſentatives then ought to have preſented an addreſs to the people of France, wherein they ſhould have demonſtrated with energy the continual violations of the conſtitution, and proved that a part of the councils were determined to ſubvert it. They ought at the ſame time to have demanded of the Directory, who, like them, had ſworn to ſupport the conſtitution, to afford them an aſylum againſt the tyranny of theſe declared enemies of the Republic, to protect them by force, and to provide for their perſonal ſecurity in their character of repreſentatives of the people. This proceeding would have been inconteſtably adopted by a majority of the councils, or at leaſt by all thoſe whom the Directory thought worthy of continuing in it after the 18th Fructidor. From that moment the Legiſlative Body

could not be diſſolved: the Directory could no longer have operated, or of their own authority removed thoſe who diſpleaſed them by the cannon and the bayonet, forced the reſt to deliberate by terror, and erected them into a revolutionary tribunal. But, on the contrary, the majority of the repreſentatives would have ſought for refuge againſt the violence of the minority, under the protection of an armed force, that their deliberations might be free. The public would have ſeen, on the one hand, this wiſe majority, with the victory on its ſide, both in intention and ſentiment; and on the other, a pitiful and naked minority, a minority to whom the agitation which reigned there from the beginning of the new ſeſſion, was already imputed. What could this minority have done? It would have been immediately abandoned by all parties, its members would have been ſhamefully diſperſed, and would never have re-appeared; every citizen would have applauded this conſtitutional meaſure, the public opinion would have rallied freely and without fear around the legiſlative body and the Directory, and if there were

among thoſe who had been diſmiſſed any who were charged with poſitive crimes, they would have been conſtitutionally tried by the high national court, where they would have been condemned with univerſal applauſe, becauſe the eyes of the public would then have been completely opened.

Such would have been their conduct had their object been the preſervation of their country, had not ambition, jealouſy, and revenge been the ſecret ſprings of all their actions. It would then have been unneceſſary to have procured addreſſes from the Army of Italy, it would then have been unneceſſary to have ſurrounded Paris with the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, it would have been unneceſſary to have taken the command of the 17th military Diviſion from the brave Hatry to place it in the hands of a miſcreant. Thoſe whoſe views are honeſt have occaſion only to employ honeſt means. To preſerve a good conſtitution, we need only ſearch among its own reſources for the means of its preſervation; and to pretend that it cannot be

ſaved from its enemies except by plunging into the paths of tyranny, and into the defiles of iniquity, is to pronounce its condemnation: but this conſtitutional proceeding did not accord with the views of the Executive Directory, becauſe that was not the road to the eſtabliſhment of their Dictatorſhip; becauſe they could not then have deſtroyed all thoſe who were included in their proſcription-liſts; becauſe many of thoſe pretended counter-revolutioniſts, being obliged to decide, aye or no, would then have ſuddenly opened their eyes, and perceived the abyſs to which their blind hatred towards their governors was dragging them; they would have abjured their little paſſions, and at length emphatically declared themſelves on the ſide of the patriots. Perhaps a ray of light might have darted on them, and the torch of diſcord being extinguiſhed, France would have beheld a grand ſyſtem of reconciliation, inſtead of univerſal mourning, and the moſt brilliant triumph of the conſtitution inſtead of its utter annihilation.

But it might be ſaid, " If it was in fact the will of the majority of the repreſentatives that the counter-revolution ſhould take place; thoſe who, adopting what you have ſtated, ſeparated themſelves from the councils, and, were left in a minority, would have been conſidered by the public as a faction."

To this, I reply firſt, that even were this poſſible it was not ſo on the 18th Fructidor, ſince the expurgation made by the Directory only produced the excluſion of about two hundred members; a very great majority therefore, even according to themſelves, were for the ſupport of the conſtitution, which, therefore, might have been ſaved by its own reſources.

But to anſwer every objection, let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that it was the will of the majority of the legiſlative body that the counter-revolution ſhould take place: then, I ſay, not only that inſurrection is juſtifiable, but that it becomes a duty;— and, can it be thence inferred that I would adviſe, that an act of the Legiſlative Body ſhould be paſſed

which would proclaim a king, or the conſtitution of 1793, or the outlawry of the members of the Directory? certainly not. But every inſurrection impoſes on thoſe by whom it is eſpouſed (eſpecially when its partizans are any of the conſtituted authorities) two duties, the omiſſion of which becomes either tyranny or high treaſon. The firſt is to demonſtrate to the people, that the inſurrection was indiſpenſable to the preſervation of the conſtitution, the annihilation of which could by no other means have been prevented. The ſecond is to demonſtrate, that every one whom the revolutionary movement deſtroys was truly and individually guilty. Neither of theſe duties were diſcharged by the Directory; and the law of the 19th Fructidor is no other than an outlawry (without any juſtifiable ground) of a part of the national repreſentation, and of the firſt magiſtrates of the Republic.

In the firſt place, the Directory might have ſaved the conſtitution by its own reſources, as I have already proved; but, as I have alſo demonſtrated, they were far, very far, from em-

ploying or endeavouring to diſcover the means it offered to prevent the blow aimed at its exiſtence.

Secondly, They have not proved that each of the members included in the proſcription was guilty; they have not ſtated any crime againſt the greater number, nor were their names even pronounced previous to their ſentence of condemnation; which, as I juſt ſtated, was no other than an outlawry. After ſix months elaborate exertion, the chairman of the committee comes forward and declares to the council, that he has "no proofs to give, that the documents are in the hands of the miniſters, and that we do not attempt to prove the exiſtence of light."

But ſuppoſing it were even as clear as the light, that it was their intention to produce a counter-revolution, yet it is not as clear as the light that ſuch and ſuch individual members were among the conſpirators; and this want of evidence is proved by the legiſlative body having eraſed ſeveral of its members from the liſt: hence, it ap-

pears, they were fully convinced that the Directory themſelves were guilty of falſehood, or, at leaſt, that they were in an error. And who can prove that the council would not have eraſed a ſtill greater number had every member dared to ſpeak, had they not been ſurrounded by a military force, or had they voted on each individual name by ballot?

Either proofs exiſted againſt each of the accuſed, or they did not; I do not mean legal but moral evidence, ſuch as would convince every intelligent and honeſt man; if there did not, the Directory were guilty of an outrage againſt the national repreſentation; if there did, they are now guilty of high treaſon for ſuppreſſing it. For, not only have they brutally violated the conſtitution, contaminated it by the poiſon of their touch, and deſtroyed the ſacred forms which gave it, in the eyes of the people, a celeſtial dignity, but, by the horrid example of condemning men in a maſs, without aſſigning the grounds of accuſation, they have furniſhed weapons to all thoſe who, in the critical circumſtances which

they may have themſelves produced, are deſirous to take advantage of thoſe very circumſtances to proſcribe their perſonal enemies. The immortal day of the 18th Fructidor is the archtype of all the days of calamity and horror which will ſucceed it; it will furniſh a juſtification to every miſcreant who, in future ages, ſhall tear the vitals of his country; yes, it will be an immortal day in the annals of crimes!

Thus are the Directory guilty of high treaſon, even ſhould they be poſſeſſed of real proofs againſt each individual they have proſcribed. If not, a worſe alternative remains, and ſtill more ſuperlatively criminal is their conduct, ſhould thoſe which in fact exiſt, exculpate the accuſed and prove *them* guilty; or, ſhould even *their* own aſſertions, as I have ſhown, demonſtrate that they are continually contradicting themſelves, and that, even were theſe aſſertions true, it would be the Directory themſelves that would be chargeable with all the crimes which they impute to others. And can any rational being believe that, had they been poſſeſſed of

proofs, they would have omitted to produce them? They have produced all they did poſſeſs: nor have they ſpoken of papers in the hands of the miniſters but in order to imply that they had farther evidence to adduce; when, on the contrary, by their artifice in drawing inferences from the facts they ſtate, and by ſuppreſſing thoſe which perhaps might have explained or extenuated the imputed criminality, they ſhow that they have omitted no ſpecies of deluſion that could favour their cauſe. But I have watched their duplicity, their inſidious precaution, and their Machiavelian art too long, not to aſſert with confidence that the Directory have no other proofs than thoſe they have publiſhed; and that '*all that is reſerved*,' or '*depoſited in the hands of the miniſters*,' could only ſerve to weaken or belie the facts they have aſſerted.

What, then, remains to be done? I do not heſitate to declare (nor is it for myſelf I ſpeak; the freedom of my language relative to the triumvirs is a ſufficient proof that I have no de-

ſire either to enjoy their indulgence or again to expoſe myſelf to their fury)—I do not heſitate to declare then, that the *perſons proſcribed ought to be recalled.* If their return is not effected by the operation of a law reſulting from an emotion of generoſity, it may one day be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

It is impoſſible but that the heart of many a worthy man, from whom this act of tyranny was extorted by ſhame and terror, ſhould be corroded with remorſe, and that they ſhould proteſt, as ſoon as it is in their power, againſt the outrage in which they had been forced to participate. It is impoſſible but that the nation, who are always juſt in the end, ſhould not at laſt puniſh the real authors. I do not ſay, and I am very far from thinking, that the proſcribed members ought to reſume their ſeats in the Legiſlative Body. This would give birth to new calamities. No! I ſay that each of them ought to be reſtored to their domeſtic circles, as citizens under the protection of the law. The public opinion has already pronounced judge-

ment on each of them in particular: it has diſtinguiſhed the true criminals, if any there really are, from thoſe (at leaſt nineteen-twentieths of the number) whoſe minds are pure, and devoted to the Republic. The real criminals will live deprived of power, and happy in the oblivion of their baſeneſs. Thoſe whoſe conduct is irreproachable will not expoſe themſelves to cenſure by aſſerting rights which ſtill exiſt, becauſe they have only been ſuſpended by tyranny, but which, if theſe repreſentatives were reſtored, would be eventually proſcribed; becauſe that reſtoration might give birth to new troubles. When the rights of the whole nation were covered with a funereal veil, could their repreſentatives complain of the outrage exerciſed againſt theirs? I am aware of thoſe declamatory maxims by which it is aſſerted that we ſhould relax from none of our rights. Arguments are never wanting to juſtify the deſires of ambition or the gratification of revenge. But I am alſo aware that ſtill better reaſons may be adduced for the ſacrifice of ſuch paſſions, eſpecially when that ſacrifice is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the tran-

quillity of our country. The moſt glorious triumphs are thoſe over our own ſelf-love, becauſe they ſatisfy it in a manner more affecting and durable.

So long as the Legiſlative Body ſhall defer this meaſure, they will prove, either that they are ſtill under actual oppreſſion, or, that the new members, who have ſucceeded thoſe excluded on the 19th Fructidor, are afraid their predeceſſors ſhould claim their ſeats; — a littleneſs which cannot be attributed to the repreſentatives of a great nation.

The Conſtitution was violated; nor can any one venture to deny it: no one can attempt to prove that a crime which is committed is not committed. But we muſt not perſiſt in rendering that crime perpetual; it muſt not be converted into an inheritance, paſſing from one ſeſſion to that which ſucceeds it, from one legiſlative generation to another.

In fact, there were two hundred members in the Councils who were enemies of the directors, but not of the Republic. The tyrants affected to confound the individual hatred of which they were themſelves the ſole object, with a hatred for liberty itſelf. Such, too, was the language of Robeſpierre. His private enemies were always thoſe of the people, and the National Convention was but an aſſembly of conſpirators. But, on the contrary, to hate tyrants is in fact the ſtrongeſt proof of the love of liberty. Many of the repreſentatives, no doubt, committed an error in not ſacrificing their private animoſities; they did not perceive the danger to which their imprudence not only expoſed the common weal, but in which alſo they were themſelves involved.

I exerted myſelf to reclaim thoſe with whom I was acquainted; yet none of them were the leading members: none of them appeared to me to have formed a ſyſtem for the deſtruction of liberty. No; they were enlightened, coura-

geous, republicans; but, unfortunately, in a ſtate of exaſperation. Others, it is true, attempted to viſit me, and my door was open indiſcriminately to all the repreſentatives of the people; but there were ſome who were deterred by the coldneſs of their reception. Two of the latter, addreſſed me in an ambiguous manner, and a third ſpoke expreſſly of outlawing the triumvirs. He aſked me the effect it would produce; the effect, ſaid I, would be to reduce us to mere citizens, and impoſe on us the duties of inſurrection againſt you: from the moment that you pronounce an outlawry againſt a ſingle individual, you have annihilated the Conſtitution, you are no longer repreſentatives of the people, you are tyrants, you are yourſelves outlaws — a new revolution, a civil war, and your certain death, are the effects it will produce. This deputy, as may eaſily be imagined, did not repeat his viſit.

During this period, the generous Directors were '*meditating in their wiſdom*' how they ſhould cut my throat. They prepared for this act, which

was ſo full of equity, of fidelity, and of honour, by the calumnies with which they filled the journals; — they endeavoured to juſtify it by the moſt palpable lies, and the moſt glaringly abſurd, and blackeſt accuſations, that could have been invented by the mind of man.

In the mean while, the criſis was approaching. I might have ſecured ſome chances in my favour, by throwing myſelf either into the one or the other of the prevailing factions; but I preferred expoſing myſelf to almoſt certain deſtruction, by their concuſſion, and I ſhall never repent of the line of conduct I purſued.

When the triumvirs ſurrounded Paris, with a column of the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, Hoche came to viſit me. I had with great difficulty ſaved his life in the time of Robeſpierre. I had reſtored him to liberty immediately after the 27th of July. And I had cauſed the three Weſtern Armies to be united in one, that he might have the command of the whole, becauſe I knew no man, except him, who could

terminate the war of La Vendée, and of the *Chouans*. All this he knew, and ſeemed to reproach himſelf with his injuſtice towards me, and his weakneſs, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced into the party he had eſpouſed. He then gave me to underſtand that he was retained in that party, in ſpite of his better judgement, by the influence of women: and it is certain that the women played a moſt active part in the Fructidorian Revolution.

I reproached him with this movement of the army, which had in no wiſe been approved of by the Directory; but he replied "that he could not undertake the expedition againſt Ireland without troops." You well know (ſaid I), General, that there are 43,000 men upon the coaſts; and of what uſe are theſe numerous troops of cavalry that you are bringing with you? "They are ſome regiments (ſaid he) that I have formed myſelf, and which are extremely attached to me."

Hoche was a man of great abilities, and could not but be extremely dangerous, by taking any party whatever in political affairs.—I am of opinion that his old animoſity againſt Pichegru may have contributed to determine what line of conduct he would purſue. For the military talents of that officer he affected a great degree of contempt. Their rivalſhip had commenced at the raiſing of the ſiege of Landau, when Pichegru (though protected by St. Juſt and Le Bas, then repreſentatives of the people in the Army of the Rhine, and enjoying a great preponderancy) had, however, given up the chief command of the combined armies to Hoche (who was ſupported by Coſte and Baudot, repreſentatives of the people with the Army of the Moſelle).

At the commencement of the war, Hoche, who was then but little known, ſent a memorial to the Committee of Public Safety on the means of penetrating into Belgium. When I had read this memorial, I ſaid, in the way of

converſation, to the Committee, "Here is a ſerjeant of infantry who will get forward." My colleagues aſked me of whom I ſpoke. "Amuſe yourſelves," ſaid I, "with peruſing that memorial; for, although you are not officers, it will intereſt you." Robeſpierre took it up, and when he had read it ſaid, "This man is extremely dangerous;" and I am of opinion it was from that very moment he reſolved to deſtroy him.

A ſtriking trait of the villany of the triumvirs appeared, when, having ſurrounded Paris with troops from the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, they declared that it was I who had given the orders for that manœuvre. They imagined this impoſture would have an air of probability, becauſe I was charged with the military correſpondence, and was alſo at that time Preſident of the Directory, and conſequently had the ſignature of the whole. Hoche myſteriouſly exhibited a paper ſigned by me, and inſinuated that it was an order for the marching of the troops. This order had, in fact, firſt been ſolicited under the pretext of the expedition againſt Ireland,

and the application had been afterwards renewed, and ſupported by Reubel in particular, under that of new troubles among the Chouans. But I oppoſed it, becauſe I knew that there were more troops than were neceſſary on the coaſt in the neighbourhood of Breſt.

In fact, it was their intention that Paris ſhould be ſurrounded with troops, and that it ſhould appear to be done by my orders. It was only when the triumvirs believed they could derive credit from their crimes that theſe myſteries began to be cleared up, by their own avowal, that they had long been meditating theſe grand events *in their wiſdom*, and that for this purpoſe they had carried on a correſpondence in the armies.

Although terror had at length ſo far taken poſſeſſion of the repreſentatives of the people, that many of them no longer dared to ſleep at their own homes, I did not ceaſe to indulge ſome hopes till the very laſt moment. I even fancied they had only ſent for Augereau merely

as a bugbear. I remembered what Reubel had told me at the time of the firſt journey of that General, when he had brought ſixty ſtandards that were taken from the enemy by the Army of Italy, " *He has much the appearance of a violent partizan.*" Said Reubel: " *What a ferocious miſcreant!*" To the firſt part of his remark I readily aſſented, for his external appearance was that of a Marius, and his oſtentation was hardly to be reconciled with republican ſimplicity or undeviating probity. But it may be preſumed that he rather acted as an ambaſſador with the Directory, than as one of the Generals of the Army of Italy.

The parade he employed on this occaſion would not have appeared blame-worthy, had he not, on the one hand, carried it to ridiculous lengths, and on the other, had not his ambitious views been too flagrantly apparent. The gold and the diamonds with which he was covered reſembled the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, and the rings that loaded each of his fingers, reminded me of thoſe which Annibal took from the Roman knights.

I had an opportunity of ſeeing him in private at my own houſe, where he gave me a very high idea of his military talents. He told me it was he alone who directed the affairs of Italy; that Bonaparte might one day become a good General, but that he was deficient in experience, that he had ſeen him almoſt loſe his preſence of mind in ſituations of delicacy, that he had extricated him from many dilemmas; in ſhort, that it was himſelf who had *done every thing*.

Nor was it to me alone that Angereau ſpoke with this frankneſs reſpecting his own merit. He talked in the ſame ſtyle to all thoſe who would liſten to him, and the ſycophants who filled their journals with ſuch unbounded eulogiums on Bonaparte, ſo unworthy of that General's real merit, at the very ſame time panegyriſed, in the moſt fulſome manner, the man who was claiming, without reſerve, all the credit of his ſucceſſes.

In the month of Fructidor, Augereau was flattered with the expectations of a place in the

Directory, as the reward of his aſſiduity in cauſing thoſe to fall whoſe deſtruction was reſolved on. But in this, not only himſelf, but all the repreſentatives who were deſirous of procuring him that elevation, were the dupes of the Directory. The triumvirs feared him becauſe he would have been too powerful a colleague. He would ſoon have excluſively enjoyed the popular favour by his revolutionary exaggerations, and his diſorganiſing propoſitions.

In general, *the more ignorant men are, the more factious* they become. This maxim has been ſtrongly verified in all the national aſſemblies.

Of the triumvirs, Reubel is the only one who preſerves a regular plan, or poſſeſſes any real knowledge; but he conſiders liberty as chimerical, and impoſſible to be eſtabliſhed, and thinks no government can exiſt but the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm. This maxim is his great rule of conduct. Barras is by no means an aſſuming or conceited man: he knows he can acquire

eminence only by revolutionizing, and he is always ready to revolutionize, no matter in what manner, or with what ultimate effects. In other reſpects he is highly ariſtocratical, that is, an enemy of every thing that tends to bring men nearer to equality. Réviellère, tormented with a thirſt of fame, and directing all of his conduct to that object, is become a Theophilanthropiſt, as old women who have once been coquettes become devotees, leſt they ſhould be dead to the world; but, provided that this plan did not ſucceed, he preferred acting as a tyrant to preſerving the reputation of an honeſt man, with which he entered on his directorial office.

I do not, however, well know on what this character is founded; perhaps, on the inclination of mankind to be deceived, and to conſole themſelves for the prevailing of evil, by indulging an idea that ſome pure minds exiſt in the world; perhaps on that pity, which a being ſo unkindly treated by nature, in regard to his perſon, inſpires. But, aſſuredly, there exiſts not a greater hypocrite, nor a more immoral man, than Ré-

vieillère: and Nature having formed him diſguſting to the ſight and ſmell, ſeems to have deſignedly cautioned thoſe who approach him againſt the falſehood and depravity of his heart.

I ſhall ever remember his anthropophagous grin, when, as Preſident of the Directory, he cloſed the ſitting of the 3d of September which he knew would be the laſt I ſhould attend. He thought that a few hours after, nothing of me would remain but a mangled and bloody carcaſs. What a hideous ſpectre he appeared! I fancied I beheld Charles IX. when the tocſin of St. Bartholomew was about to ſound, taking leave of thoſe who were preſently to be murdered by his own orders. A poignard ſeemed to leap from every angle of his diſtorted countenance; his head was inclined upon his ſhoulders; his eyes, grown almoſt opaque, looked aſkaunce; the fleſh on his cheek bones ſeemed agitated with a convulſive motion, and his half-opened lips protruded forwards, as it were, to meet the expected cup filled with the blood of his victim.

I do not believe it was without deſign, that the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor was ſelected for the accompliſhment of this ſcheme, which the concertors had ſo long *meditated in their wiſdom*. The 17th and 18th Fructidor exactly correſpond with the 3d and 4th of September, the epoch of the famous maſſacres in 1793. Many of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the firſt Septemberization, were alſo the ſecret directors of the ſecond, and ſkilfully made their dates to coincide, the better to identify theſe two events. They were deſirous of having a great number of accomplices, that they might make uſe of the ſimilitude of the circumſtances to divide the power that was concentered in themſelves among a great number of individuals, and thus to prevent the public opinion, which continually harraſſes them, from purſuing them excluſively.

It is certain, that theſe new Septemberizers have identified their cauſe with the former, who have now pleaſed them by adducing the ſame reaſons in juſtification of their conduct, and ſhel-

tering themſelves under the ſame *ſalus populi*, and that it is impoſſible to defend them without exculpating the other. If the latter have not committed maſſacres, it is becauſe they neither dared, nor had it in their power. They were not ſufficiently confident of the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and knew they ſhould excite too much horror in the people, who had had ſufficient time to reflect and profit by the experience of the paſt. But they exerciſed their cruelty with ſuperior refinement, and have created an equal number of unfortunate individuals. The perſons proſcribed in this ſecond Septemberization are victims immolated to the manes of the Duke of Orleans. Hiſtory will claſs the infatuated Coryphæi of both under the ſame general term; it will be conſidered as one and the ſame tranſaction by thoſe who endeavour to trace every event to its true cauſe.

Many of the repreſentatives were not aware of the infamous part they were made to act—which was preciſely the ſame that the National Convention was obliged to perform, when Tallien, in the

name of the Commune, came to announce, that France was about to be delivered from her enemies, and the priſons to be cleared by a univerſal maſſacre. The firſt Septemberizers had a great ſource of enjoyment in ſeeing the number of their aſſociates and partizans increaſed by the acceſſion of thoſe very men whom, till then, they had, at leaſt in appearance, pretended to ſhun. They were deſirous, that, in honour of the immortal triumph of Fructidor, monuments ſhould be erected to them, and feſtivals celebrated on their account, which in their orgies and ſecret councils they would have referred at once, to the events of 1793, and thoſe of 1797. Probably this ſecret has eſcaped them, and this is the reaſon they have adjourned the execution of their intentions till a more *favourable opportunity*.

Bonaparte, deceived by falſe reports, irritated by the unjuſt calumnies continually uttered againſt him, at length departed from the line which his natural penetration had pointed out to him. Latterly I ſaw one of his aids-de-camp,

named La Valette, whom he had himſelf introduced to me in one of his letters. This officer came to Paris to inform Bonaparte of the ſituation of affairs; I had ſeveral interviews with him, in the courſe of which I communicated the whole ſyſtem I was purſuing. He told me, that Bonaparte had formed a very juſt idea on the ſubject, and aſſured me, that General viewed things exactly in the ſame light as myſelf; but that he complained of my not having written for ſome time to him. I replied, that my only motive was, that Bonaparte ſeemed no longer to have the ſame confidence in me, and that I conceived he had, at length, partly believed the lies propagated relative to me, by the newſpapers, eſpecially by thoſe which undertook to prove that I was his enemy. I added, that I would write to him with openneſs of heart, by the firſt courier that ſhould be diſpatched.

Sometime after this, and I believe ſix days previous to the 4th of September, La Valette came and ſaid to me, "You may be perfectly at eaſe with regard to the cloud you conceived

to have ariſen in the mind of Bonaparte relative to yourſelf; I have a letter from him, ſaying, that he has written to you by the ſame courier, that you may rely on his higheſt eſteem, and his warmeſt affection; and that he conſiders political events preciſely in the ſame point of view as yourſelf." I expreſſed to Valette my great pleaſure at what he communicated, "but," ſaid I, "the letter has not been delivered." He appeared prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, and I never entertained a moment's doubt but that the little hypocritical Réveillère, who was then Preſident, had intercepted it, and that it was kept back by this trio ſo full of *fidelity* and honour.

I was ſo convinced that it was impoſſible Bonaparte ſhould have contributed to my proſcription, that when, on his way to Raſtadt, he paſſed through a ſmall town where I happened to be for a ſhort time, I was on the point of writing to him to aſk for a momentary interview, and only waved my intention becauſe I was afraid of placing the General himſelf in a delicate ſituation; for it never occurred to my mind

to harbour the ſlighteſt doubt of his ſincerity and generoſity. But I ſuffered him to paſs, and illuminated my windows in common with all the other citizens, abandoning myſelf to my reflections, which were far from being of a melancholy nature, on the viciſſitudes of human life.

I rejoiced ſome days after at the conduct I had purſued, when I was informed, that in his paſſage through Geneva, Bonaparte had arreſted a banker named Bontems, merely becauſe he was ſuſpected of having brought me from Paris to that place, after the event of the 4th of September, in order to ſave me from the purſuit of the Directory, who had ſent out whole batallions of troops, accompanied with artillery, to diſcover me in the vicinity of Paris. This ſuſpicion had no foundation. In fact, I had never ſeen Bontems at Paris, nor was it to him that I was indebted for conveying me beyond the frontiers. That unfortunate man, however, remained ſome months in priſon. Such is the ſtory, as it was related to me by ſeveral perſons who came from Geneva, and who have heard

it from his own mouth, when, he added, Bonaparte flew into a violent paſſion, and uttered the ſevereſt menaces.

Bonaparte was deſirous of peace, but the Directory were averſe to it; and it would have been concluded five months ſooner, had they been willing to make it on the conditions which they ultimately accepted, merely becauſe they perceived, that the beſt argument that could be urged to the people, in favour of the 4th of September, was that of its having accelerated a peace. Hence, they pretended, when the treaty was at length concluded, that it was the other members of the Directory who had hitherto conſtantly refuſed their aſſent; and that, on the contrary, they had eagerly endeavoured to procure that bleſſing for their country the moment they were relieved from their ſhackles. It may be ſeen in their ſubſequent conduct, whether in this pretended deſire of peace they were really ſincere.

Of all the modifications of treaties they had in their power to adopt they have choſen the very worſt; and it appears I was miſtaking in ſaying, theſe *Republican Directors* were deſirous of oppreſſing the Emperor. Far, very far, was the Emperor from being oppreſſed. The Preliminaries of Leoben, which could immediately be converted into a definitive treaty, would have been far better without the ſmalleſt alterations in them. The ceſſion of Mantua was ſtipulated for that of Venice, and Venice is ſurely a place of more importance than Mantua. Bonaparte had written, that Mantua might be replaced, as far as regarded the ſecurity of the Ciſalpine Republic, by Pizzighitone, and that the latter had ſeveral advantages over the former. But the Directory determined to keep Mantua, although, by the Preliminaries of Leoben, it was ſtipulated, that it ſhould be given up; and this was the only object that prevented the peace from being concluded.

As I was deſirous, however, that peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded; and as I perceived their

obſtinate determination to keep Mantua; I propoſed, one day, a mode, which at the worſt we might adopt,—to give up Venice in its ſtead! and, to that effect, I had even prepared a letter to Bonaparte; but they cried out, that it would be better to give up Mantua than Venice. Here they were right, and I had only propoſed to give up the latter becauſe I perceived they were obſtinately reſolved to keep the former; yet it was Venice they ultimately gave up. The letter I had written was thrown into the fire; but by a ſingular coincidence, Bonaparte had formed the ſame idea with myſelf, and the next day or the day after we received diſpatches from him propoſing to ſubſtitute Venice for Mantua in the Preliminaries of Leoben, adding, that with this condition peace would be ſpeedily concluded. They had rejected this propoſal when it came from me, and they equally rejected it from Bonaparte. In a word, their wiſh was to keep both Mantua and Venice, and, in caſe the Emperor would not acquieſce in this point, to reſume their arms immediately; ſuch were the conditions on which they con-

tinued diſputing five months, and at their expiration choſe the worſt of the two alternatives.

The hatred ſome of the members of the Directory bore me, eſpecially Barras, took its riſe from events long anterior to the period when it broke out. Barras belonged to a faction which I always held in abhorrence, the faction which attempted to place Orleans on the throne, which, having failed in that deſign, began to intrigue for themſelves, and at length divided into ſubordinate parties; the one under Danton, at the Cordeliers, the other under Robeſpierre, at the Jacobins, and the Commune of Paris: in a word, he belonged to that faction, which, though at firſt ſo oppoſite to the republican ſyſtem, afterwards carried thoſe principles to the utmoſt extreme of enthuſiaſm, when they perceived that they could by theſe means place themſelves at the head of the Republic.

I was equally the enemy of the Cordeliers, and of the Jacobins, and never could be induced to enter either of their dens. Though I had

an equal averſion to Danton and Robeſpierre, yet, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, I was ſuppoſed to be a partizan of the latter, through its not being known perhaps that, in that committee I inceſſantly reproached him with his cruelties and his tyranny.

Barras was of the faction of Danton, as were the greater part of thoſe who have been called Thermidorians by way of diſtinction, but who on the 9th Thermidor (July 27th), independently of the danger that threatened them, and which it was urgently neceſſary to oppoſe, were much leſs intent on deſtroying one tyrant than on avenging another, and re-eſtabliſhing the tyranny of the former in their own hands. And who were theſe pretended avengers of humanity? They were, in general, the ſame men who had deluged Paris, Bordeaux, and Marſeilles, with blood!

The great crime of which, in their eyes, I was guilty, was that of having ſigned the arreſt of Danton; and yet it was a fact,

though very little known, that, at the Committee of Public Safety, I oppoſed that meaſure; not but that I conſidered this chief of the Septemberizers as deſerving the execration of mankind, but from the motives I ſtated to the members of the committee, to whom I ſaid: "You are no doubt powerful enough to have thoſe, whom you may think proper to mark out, put to death; but if you once open the road that leads the repreſentatives of the people to the ſcaffold we ſhall all ſucceſſively tread the ſame path." The ſignatures, as I explained to the Convention, did not prove any thing relative to the opinions of thoſe individuals who ſigned them, but merely that ſuch reſolutions had paſſed the committee, in the ſame manner as the ſignatures of the Preſident and Secretaries of the Legiſlative Body, or of the Directory, certify, that ſuch and ſuch laws or reſolutions have been paſſed, not that they received the aſſent or concurrence of thoſe individuals. They were by no means ſignatures of confidence, as they have been called, but ſignatures of forms preſcribed by law.

All the world knew this to be the fact, and thoſe who were my perſecutors had been a thouſand times themſelves examples of ſimilar ſignatures; but they collected all the acts ſigned by me, whether as member of the Committee, or as a repreſentative in the numerous miſſions to which I had been appointed, almoſt without interruption during eight months; but being unable in all theſe documents to find the ſlighteſt ground of accuſation, it became neceſſary to attribute to me the crimes of other men; and, in lieu of conſidering as acts of enthuſiaſm what I had done while defending the accuſed members of the committee, to put a ſtop to the carnage of the repreſentatives of the people, they accuſed me of it as of an additional crime. I was indebted for my preſervation to the courage of a few virtuous men who were beyond ſuſpicion, and who at length, venturing boldly to undertake my defence, forced thoſe miſcreants to let go their prey.

But they only deferred the period of their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity. I had had the good fortune at the committee, to contribute to the extrication of the Republic from its danger by repelling its enemies; and the only recompence I obtained was a horrid perſecution. When in the Directory, I contributed to extricate it from new dangers, wherein theſe ſame villains, then acting as factious *reactionaries*, had plunged it; and the recompence was my Fructidorian proſcription. I well knew that Republics were ungrateful, but I did not yet know that the individuals who call themſelves republicans were guilty of ſuch baſe ingratitude as I have ſince experienced.

If any one deſerved to be exiled for having given riſe to *reaction*, certainly that reward is due to thoſe infamous characters, who, through their perſecutions of the preſent republicans, and by confounding the innocent with the guilty, while they themſelves were covered with crimes, brought about the events of the

13th Vendemiaire. But it is the privilege of theſe men always to cauſe the puniſhment of their own crimes to fall on the heads of their enemies. Thus, after having ſeduced and miſled the Pariſians by their counter-revolutionary manœuvres; when they perceived that they were themſelves about to become the victims of their own infernal policy, they maſſacred them with their artillery to puniſh them for their credulity. I was then an abſolute nullity in the Republic. I rejoined the Legiſlative Body on the 13th Vendemiaire, to periſh together with them if it was neceſſary; but I was abſolutely deſtitute of any ſhare in all thoſe tranſactions.

I have more than once heard Barras expreſs his grief and concern, that there were not enough individuals killed in Vendemiaire; and Reubel, who was preciſely of the ſame opinion, propoſing one day, when we were in a ſtate of great pecuniary diſtreſs, to levy a forced contribution of ſixty millions of livres on Paris within four-and-twenty-hours: "You mean, then," cried I,

" that terror and death ſhould again be the order of the day:"—" I wiſh they were ſo already," replied Reubel: " I never ſaw but one fault in Robeſpierre, that of being too mild." And Barras repeated his favourite maxim (that maxim with which Germain has ſince, in other terms, reproached him) " We ſhould not be in this condition if the Pariſians had been more ſeverely chaſtiſed in Vendemiaire."

Sieyès having refuſed the office of director, at the period when every thing was in ſo deſperate a ſituation that the Directory had a difficulty to find domeſtics willing to enter into their precarious ſervice, the councils turned their eyes towards me. A rumour to this effect having ſpread abroad, the Directory ſent for me, Sieyès, and Merlin, to attend them. We all three attended them together. They offered to Merlin, the office of Miniſter of Juſtice; to Sieyès, that of Foreign Affairs; and to me, that of the War Department. Merlin accepted the propoſal, but Sieyès and myſelf refuſed. I could ſcarcely conceive how a ſet of men (among whom I knew

I had, at leaſt two mortal enemies) would offer me a place of ſuch diſtinguiſhed eminence; and I have no doubt but their object was, to prevent me from being placed in the Directory: it was principally that I might re-eſtabliſh the affairs of the war, that the Legiſlative Body were deſirous of promoting me to that office; and had I accepted the office of miniſter, the object would have been apparently anſwered. A few days after, they would have diſplaced me from that very office, and would, perhaps, at the ſame time have accuſed me of the ill-ſucceſſes which were then very probable, immediately to enſue.

On my refuſal, they named Aubert-Dubayet; and it is to be obſerved, that it was on me that the blame of the incapacity of that miniſter was afterwards thrown; and it was in the newſpapers, in the pay of Barras, that the accuſation appeared. Though Aubert-Dubayet was full of intelligence, and of courage, he himſelf felt that he was not qualified for the office he filled; and he was inceſſantly conjuring me to relieve him from this heavy burden.

At the outſet of their adminiſtration, the Directory were ſurrounded with the greateſt difficulties; yet, good fortune, and the zealous aſſiduity and co-operation of the Conſtituted Authorities, who were united by the common danger, ſoon reſtored their ſtrength: the war in La Vendée was terminated; the armies reſumed their original enthuſiaſm; the paper circulation diſappeared; the free circulation of the neceſſaries of life, ariſing from the exertions of the miniſter, Benezech, reſtored plenty to the people; and only one real cauſe of inquietude remained, ariſing from the party of the Anarchiſts who were boldly conſpiring, at the club of the Pantheon, daily challenging the maſſacre of the Legiſlative Body, and of the Directory, and reſolving, by every ſpecies of crimes, to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution of 1793.

I know not on what ground it had been imagined, that I ſhould eſpouſe the party of the Anarchiſts. All thoſe who had any perſonal knowledge of me, all thoſe who had obſerved my conduct at the Convention and in the miſſions

I had diſcharged, could not entertain the ſlighteſt doubt that I was their mortal enemy.

Neither is my appearance that of a deſperate Revolutioniſt. I have known people who, from the deſcription of me in the newſpapers, expreſſed the greateſt ſurpriſe on ſeeing me, and would ſcarcely believe that I was that terrible member of the Committee of Public Safety, that aſſociate of Robeſpierre. Others, who knew me before the revolution a careleſs, ſolitary, abſent being, and full of thought; in ſhort, a kind of philoſopher, or rather an original, would ſtill leſs believe that I had now become a courtier and a friend of kings, or that I, having participated in the glory of founding the moſt majeſtic of republics, could afterwards amuſe myſelf with deſtroying it. Such inconſiſtencies were reſerved for the ſublime members of the Executive Directory, that is, for the very men who beſt knew the contrary.

Be this as it may, the Directory could then diſcover no other means of ſafety than ſhutting

up the Club of the Pantheon, which Bonaparte, who commanded the 1ſt Military Diviſion, was appointed to execute that very night.

But the Anarchiſts were not to be diſcouraged. Every day ſome new attempt was made by them; but they were only diſperſed, and no one marked out for puniſhment. Their impunity increaſed their courage; with them we were in the ſame ſituation as an antagoniſt in a duel who only parries the weapon of his adverſary, without attempting to wound him in his turn. However unſkilful this adverſary may be, he is certain at length to kill his enemy. Thus likewiſe would the Republic infallibly have ſunk, had not Babœuf and his accomplices been arreſted; a meaſure which ſtruck terror into the hearts of theſe miſcreants, and effected their diſperſion.

This reminds me of a remarkable anecdote. One of thoſe men, whom it is attempted to involve in all the ſchemes and plots which ſo rapidly ſucceed each other for the deſtruction of

the Government, waited on me one morning after the arreſt of Babœuf. He was a ſhoemaker, and explained to me the manner in which theſe intrigues were carried on by the journeymen of his trade. I ordered ſome breakfaſt for him, and made him talk freely of every thing he knew, and among other curious obſervations, "*My God*," ſaid he, "*Citizen Carnot, how much I was aſtoniſhed at what you have done againſt Babœuf, I thought you a Brutus.*" All in good time, replied I. From this I perceived that this claſs of ſociety had been purpoſely filled with ſuch wild ideas, that with them every conſtitution, every law, and every government whatever, appeared an invaſion of liberty, every man in office a tyrant, and every one who propoſed to kill them, eſpecially if he undertook the office himſelf, as a Brutus.

The Directory did not without jealouſy obſerve that the man whom they had taken ſuch pains to repreſent as the protector of anarchy was the very perſon who had given it ſo ſevere a blow. But they were ſtill more irritated againſt me afterwards, when they found it convenient to make

me paſs for a Royaliſt for having arreſted Dunan, Brottier, and Lavilleheurnois. Certainly thoſe were not deſerving to be called *ſtupid*, who invented the ſtory, that I was the accomplice of the agents of Louis XVIII.; I, who had ſo long been tracking them out, and had ultimately cauſed them to be arreſted and brought to trial, while the *republican directors* ſuffered theſe ſame agents to be acting almoſt under their own eyes, without harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicion of them.

This conſpiracy, however, of the agents of Louis XVIII. was by no means a matter of ſmall importance. *Their trial*, ſays Bailleul, *had brought every thing to light.* This is an important confeſſion. It was I, then, who arreſted the very perſons that brought every thing to light. But have they brought to light, honeſt Bailleul, that I was their accomplice? From my having arreſted both Duverne and Babœuf, it might perhaps be inferred that I was equally the enemy of royalty and of anarchy. They argued, however, on wiſer grounds; becauſe I arreſted

Duverne, I was the accomplice of Babœuf; and becauſe I arreſted Babœuf, I was the accomplice of Duverne: but thoſe who arreſted no man, were the accomplices of no man; thoſe who ſuffer every faction to continue, belong to no faction; thoſe who proſcribe republicans that are free from reproach, are the true patriots; thoſe who tear the ſocial compact, are the firm ſupporters of the conſtitution; thoſe who enſlave the people, are the beſt friends of liberty; thoſe who carry on wars of extermination, are the ſincere lovers of peace; and thoſe who bring about Fructidorian Revolutions, are the ſaviours of their country! *We do not ſeek to prove the exiſtence of light.*

Cochon and Malo contributed as much and more than myſelf, to detect and defeat the agents of Louis XVIII. But Louis XVIII. has been amply revenged by the *republican directors*, who have proſcribed both Cochon and Malo. The worthy, the virtuous, Miniſter, Cochon, a thouſand times more active, more courageous, more republican, than all our *Repub-*

lican Directors, was the man who diſcovered to the Directory the whole hiſtory of the *coterie des fils légitimes* with which Bailleul has decorated his report. All the details he has given are borrowed from the papers ſeized by the agents of Cochon.

If, however, we liſten to Bailleul, it was to their own penetration that the Directory was indebted for all thoſe diſcoveries. No, Bailleul, the penetration of the Directory diſcovers only imaginary conſpiracies; they can find no real plots; but in revenge thoſe they diſcover '*in their wiſdom*' are ſo clear, that it would be '*feebly to apprehend*' their intentions to aſk for proofs! What does it ſignify who periſh in a great convulſion, whether they are the innocent or the guilty? Have they not, in all events, accompliſhed their object; have they not deſtroyed their enemies; are they not poſſeſſed of the dictatorſhip? I have already obſerved, that it was the peculiar talent of the Orleans faction (the remains of which are now intriguing for themſelves, and are the true

authors of the Fructidorian revolution) to appropriate to themſelves the fruits of the labours of others, and then to cauſe the puniſhment of their own crimes to fall upon their heads.

It was the alarming conſpiracy of Babœuf, and the imminent danger incurred by the public weal through the diſſolution of the *Legion de Police* (a danger which few were able fully to appreciate), that at length convinced me of the neceſſity of diſplacing, from every office of truſt, that crowd of immoral and incorrigible beings, who ſpread diſorder, diſcontent, and terror, into every corner of the Republic. To the appointment of ſome of theſe I had myſelf at firſt contributed; not to the nomination of thoſe whom I conſidered as unprincipled villains, but only of thoſe whoſe minds were inflamed with enthuſiaſm: and this I did as much with a view to diminiſh the maſs of theſe inflammable elements at Paris, as with a hope of ſeeing men, who had been miſled, return to the principles of moderation, and ſincerely abjure a ſyſtem which had been the

cauſe of ſo many evils. But I ſoon perceived that, although ſome of them faithfully returned to the good path, the majority endeavoured to employ the advantages they had obtained to throw every thing into confuſion.

It was at that period, too, that I began to perceive ſtrong oppoſitions in the Directory.—Reubel was conſtantly the protector of men accuſed of plunder and dilapidation, Barras of attainted and ruined nobles, and Réveillière of unprincipled prieſts. Whenever a deputation from any of the departments ſolicited the place of Commiſſary or Receiver, for any particular individual whoſe character, probity, and abilities they warranted, they began to calculate the number of votes; and if there were eight or nine deputies for granting the requeſt, and one or two for its rejection, it was negatived without farther examination; becauſe they had laid it down as a maxim, that the majority of the Councils were royaliſts.

Reubel very often expreſſly declared this propoſition as certain. He had memorandums relative to almoſt every member of the Legiſlative Body; he collected all he could learn concerning them, no matter from what quarter, which he carefully laid by and arranged in the pigeonholes of his bureau: and thus he was furniſhed with a magazine, by which he could involve in whatever conſpiracy he pleaſed, all thoſe repreſentatives of whom he wiſhed to rid himſelf. I here forewarn Jourdan that there are ſome of theſe memorandums particularly directed againſt him; I have heard Reubel poſitively declare that Jourdan was a traitor. This man was the principal cauſe of his diſguſt, and obliged him to aſk leave to retire.

Moſt of the other celebrated generals of the Republic were equally noted down by him as traitors. Kleber, in particular, was the object of his declared hatred. Yet that General has ſince reſumed his poſt; becauſe, no doubt, they took advantage of the opportunity to perſuade

him that I was the author of his diſgrace; whereas, on the contrary, it was I who (though unable to prevent it) endeavoured to ſoften it as much as poſſible, by a letter which I wrote in the name of the Directory, expreſſive of their regret at loſing an officer of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit. I am convinced the Directory would not have ſuffered this letter to be ſent to him, had they read it; but they ſigned it *confidentially*. In ſhort, with regard to every man of eminence in the Republic, in any way whatever, I never heard any language ſo conformable to that of Robeſpierre, as that of Reubel; nor did I ever perceive ſo conſtant a deſire to annihilate every one who had acquired reputation by his ſuperior merit.

He appears fully convinced that probity and civiſm are abſolutely incompatible. He cannot conceive how a man of unblemiſhed character can have been induced to take a part in the revolution. One day, when I made ſome remarks on the undiſguiſed extravagance of Merlin of Thionville, after the time of the famous

ſurrender of Mentz, where he was ſent, together with Reubel, a repreſentative of the people, although this ſame Merlin had declared at the Convention that he had no property but his ſalary as deputy, Reubel inſtantly changed colour; yet no man is in general ſo well able to command his features. Some days after he ſaid, as if without deſign, " that Merlin of Thionville is a raſcal, and I have told him as much; for he ſpends twenty-five louis a-day at the Mount Calvary. I have long been his friend, becauſe I thought him an honeſt man, but now I have broken with him." In fact, however, he has not broken with him at all, and has never ceaſed to maintain the moſt intimate connection with him.

In Reubel the thirſt of power is inſatiable. At the time when lots were drawn to determine which of the directors ſhould go out, his ſight was ſo confuſed when he opened the fatal ticket, that although it was in his favour, he read that it was againſt him, and the words, *It is I*, eſcaped him, making at the ſame time a motion

of his body expreſſive of his concern. Theſe words I heard with perfect diſtinctneſs, becauſe I ſtood cloſe to him, and have often joked him on the ſubject; nor did he deny this fact.

As to Barras, I have already ſaid that he was the protector of the nobles; and this is not the leſs true for his apparently declaiming againſt them. He ſecretly endeavours to procure the re-admiſſion of the titled emigrants, and has always ſome marquis or knight to propoſe for every vacant place; but then they are always marquiſſes or knights who deſpiſed the advantages of their birth even under the old government. It is certain that Barras is an Ariſtocrat, and that the name of patriot, which is conſtantly in his mouth, is with him but a means of acquiring influence and power.

After the affair of Grenelle, Barras being publicly accuſed of not coming forward in the defence of the Directorial Palace, cauſed it to be inſerted in ſome of the journals, that he had appeared on that occaſion, and thus left

the truth quite uncertain, that he might be able afterwards to aſſert or deny it as might beſt ſuit his purpoſe. The fact is, that neither he, Reubel, nor Réveillère, made their appearance. Afterwards, however, they purſued this affair with much more warmth than I, who have always been of opinion that no influence ought to be exerciſed over the tribunals, when taking cognizance of any affair whatever. Réveillère, to whom I went myſelf to apprize him of the danger, as ſoon as I was informed that the inſurgents were marching to the Directorial Palace, and were within a ſtone's throw of the gates, ſaid "that he would leave the buſineſs to Le Tourneur, and myſelf, who were military men."—When the inſurgents knew that we were prepared for them they changed their route, and went to the camp of Grenelle. Barras and Reubel excuſed themſelves the next day, by ſaying they were out of town, becauſe they were not appriſed of what was paſſing. But I am of opinion they were out of town becauſe they *were* appriſed of it.

Thus they purſued the ſyſtem they uniformly adopt, of letting other men act in all caſes of danger, and then attributing the ſucceſs to themſelves, or throwing the blame on others. When ſeveral perſons came, on the following day, to give us an account of what they had witneſſed of them, one told us that Tallien, and ſeveral others of the Orleans faction, had been waiting on the banks of the river to ſee the reſult of the attack of the Camp of Grenelle, and that as ſoon as they learnt that it had failed, they diſperſed and took flight. Barras, who lived in habits of intimacy with Tallien, thought it might be better for him to ſeparate their apparent intereſts, and therefore began to abuſe and calumniate his friend. He ſaid, "that if there were five hundred conſpiracies, Tallien would be concerned in them all.'

Theſe two execrable men were united, not by the bonds of true friendſhip, of which upright hearts alone are capable, but by an emulation in cruelty. They had equally practiſed the moſt atrocious barbarity; they had equally bathed

themſelves in human blood—the one at Marſeilles, the other at Bordeaux. To defend myſelf, in caſe of need, againſt the intrigues of their faction, when they proſecuted me with ſo much fury, I had extracted ſome parts of their letters to the Committees of Public Safety during their miſſions. It is impoſſible to conceive any thing more terrible than theſe writings. All that has been yet publiſhed relative to them, gives but a feeble idea of the horrid language which I literally extracted from their correſpondence. This curious correſpondence has fallen into the hands of the guilty. It was among the papers which were taken from me.

I well know that the regret which the triumvirs felt, at having failed in their deſign to have me aſſaſſinated on the night of the 17th of Fructidor, aroſe from a hope, that by my death they would have prevented the expoſure of their crimes.—A body of aſſaſſins had been poſted at a back gate of my garden, whom the guard of the Directory, by my orders, commanded to retire, and they obeyed when they found that they

were diſcovered. A few minutes previous to the departure of the detachment, who were appointed to arreſt me, an aid-de-camp was diſpatched to know if I was ſtill at my houſe; where I certainly was, and quitted it but at the moment when the guard entered the apartments. The Luxembourg was, as it were, inveſted by a large body of troops, ſupported by artillery; but I deceived the vigilance of the aſſaſſins, by availing myſelf of a ſecret paſſage of which they were ignorant. I heard the diſcharge of the alarm gun, juſt as I had ſhut the laſt door through which I was to paſs; and, with a piſtol in each hand, I wandered for three hours about the city, and took my way through bye ſtreets, in order to avoid the detachments of ſoldiers which had been augmented on that occaſion, and that I might, at length, reach the aſylum where I fled for ſafety. Reubel could not expreſs the violence of his anger at the officer who carried the order of arreſt; and Barras was ſo inconceivably baſe, as to accompany the ſoldiers who were ordered to ſeize the feeble Barthelemy.

On the 19th, when the council excepted from the proſcription certain repreſentatives, and among others Doulcet, the Directory addreſſed a very inſolent meſſage to the Council on that occaſion, who, recovered from its firſt impreſſions of terror, refuſed to change its determination. This meſſage is well known. It was then the opinion of Réveillère, that Doulcet ſhould be aſſaſſinated. To ſay the truth, give that man but an opportunity to do any thing, and he will ſoon find the means of doing it.

At length, they celebrated their immortal labours by public rejoicings, in which nothing was wanting to complete their feſtivity but to drink their intoxicating beverage out of the ſculls of their enemies. At Rome, no triumph was ever known to grace the victories that aroſe out of civil diſcord. They were events which the Roman citizens contemplated with ſorrow and mourning.

The pen drops from my hand, in writing this affecting narrative; and in reflecting

on the monſters to whom France is abandoned. Theſe misfortunes, great as they may be, are not, however, of a nature to make the friends of liberty deſpair, nor to prevent the legiſlators from preparing for their fellow citizens the means of future proſperity. Above all things they ought to give their attention to the reſtoration of the finances, and the ſtability of the laws. Every one feels the abſolute neceſſity of forming inſtant regulations for the firſt; and, it is time that a due regard ſhould be paid to the ſecond; the rights of property alſo ſhould no longer be uncertain! A ſecure poſſeſſion can alone make agriculture flouriſh; attach the citizens, by the tranquil enjoyment of their property, to the country which protects them, and cauſe the love of the Republic to become the ſovereign paſſion of every breaſt.

In the ſame manner, when the obligations annexed to the ſtate of every citizen are reduced to a ſmall number of fixed and ſimple duties, every one will conform to them with pleaſure, from the readineſs with which he

comprehends them; and rearing his children in the practice of them, will inſenſibly form to himſelf a ſyſtem of public morals, which, identifying itſelf with the exiſtence of the nation, will fix its character, and ſecure its duration. Hence it is, that all the great legiſlators have diſcovered leſs inconvenience in an imperfect but fixed code of laws, than in more perfect ſyſtems, which, from the circumſtances around them, are liable to change. The beſt government is that which is obeyed from habit and education, and not from the influence of varying inſtitutions: in one word, that in which thoſe who govern have the leaſt to do; as that clock is the beſt, which requires the leaſt attention from the artizan. But the grand error, of the greater part of thoſe who are placed at the head of public affairs, is, a very general opinion, that they would be of no uſe, whatever, in their ſtations; and that the buſineſs of the ſtate would not proceed, if, on every occaſion and at every moment, their influence and interference was not perceived or felt, Univerſal toleration, and a calm promulgation of the

laws, are the moſt certain means of rendering a people contented, and preventing revolutions.

Allow every thing which can be allowed, without diſſolving the bonds of ſociety, or giving up all pretentions to freedom: ſuch an arrangement will perhaps beget, in the beginning, a tendency to diſorder; but, in a ſhort time, and by degrees, every one will take his natural poſition, and the ſocial body will become more compact and united; becauſe you will have ſubſtituted the ties of nature for thoſe of law. This is a doctrine which deſpots cannot comprehend; and they are ſo ſucceſsful in propagating their errors, that thoſe who wiſh to ſee liberty eſtabliſhed in its greateſt latitude are preciſely thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by the titles of ariſtocrats and royaliſts. The Gothic King Theodoric was, in this particular, far leſs a Goth than our republican directors.

It is ſaid, that France is more tranquil than it was before Fructidor. It may be ſo, but if we ſuppoſe for a moment, that the triumvirs

govern with as much ſucceſs as Octavius, after he was Emperor, or Cromwell when he was Protector, would they be leſs the oppreſſers of their country! They might be compared to the hunter, who having taken a wild elephant endeavours by kind treatment to reconcile him to the ſlavery to which his future life is devoted.

The uſurpation of power cannot be juſtified even by the beſt employment of it; otherwiſe, any one who ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf more capable of governing than another would have a right to deſtroy him, and aſſume his place, as well as to ſubſtitute his will as ſuperior to laws and tribunals, from the imperfection of the one, the delays of the other, and the abuſes inſeparable from all human inſtitutions. And as a concentrated power appears to poſſeſs a greater degree of ſtrength, and more rapid execution, than that which is derived from a Conſtitution; the government of an uſurper will wear, for ſome time, the ſemblance of ſuperior advantage, though in fact, it is nothing more than the prelude of laſting ſlavery.

If it were neceſſary to examine whether, in what relates to the adminiſtration of public affairs, the conſequences of the 18th Fructidor have been beneficial, it would be very eaſy to prove the contrary. It would be very eaſy to make it appear, that a ſyſtem of diſſipation and waſte has prevailed, inſtead of a ſyſtem of economy and reformation; and that to give ſome degree of eclat to public meaſures, thoſe reſources which had been accumulated with ſo much care have been moſt extravagantly conſumed. The Directory has oſtentatiouſly reaped the fruits which others had ſown, and has itſelf planted brambles for its ſucceſſors. I am perſuaded that, without engaging in war with any of the great Powers, our armies will find themſelves reduced at the end of the campaign to one half, both as to their numbers and equipments; while the great Powers, on the contrary, have availed themſelves of the opportunity to recruit their forces. The embarraſſed ſtate of the finances is ſtill greater, notwithſtanding the increaſe of contributions, the large ſums which have been drawn from foreign countries, and

the ſuppreſſion of payments at home. The commercial ſpeculations, which were in ſuch a ſtate of activity before Fructidor, are annihilated; inſtead of a general peace, which might have been concluded, every channel of honourable accommodation has been ſhut up, by ſwearing to proceed in a war of extermination with the Engliſh nation; in ruſhing into a whirlpool of political circumſtances, which may engender new coalitions againſt France, raiſe up new enemies in different parts of the world, and may throw a doubt upon the political character of the Republic, which had been ſo honourably acknowledged by every power. No excuſe can be found for continually, and without the leaſt neceſſity, riſking the ſtrength of our country, as at a game of chance, though we ſhould be always ſucceſsful. He who ſhould veſt his whole fortune in a lottery muſt be conſidered as an idiot, and I ſhould not conſider him with more favour, though he ſhould be a gainer in the weak and hazardous enterprize; eſpecially if he were to continue his folly: but if this fortune ſhould not be his own, and that

he ſhould poſſeſs nothing more than the adminiſtration of it; and if inſtead of increaſing it gradually by prudent means, and employing its revenues for urgent neceſſities, he ſhould expend it at the gaming table, I ſhould then accuſe him not only of folly, but breach of confidence, and treaſon.

With reſpect to the obſervation which has been already made, that France is ſaid to be more tranquil than it was before Fructidor, it becomes us to conſider what is the nature of that tranquillity: Does it ariſe from ſtupor or ſecurity? Is it the repoſe of a ſpring in a ſtate of compreſſion, or free to move? Is it the ſilence of citizens who never know whether they are the objects of love or hatred, ſubmitted as they are to the authority, which is ſuperior to laws?—or that calm in which the heart is diſpoſed to dilate, from a conſciouſneſs that it is protected by the laws againſt the caprices of arbitrary power. With reſpect to the tranquillity produced by oppreſſion, we know it to be the natural effect of deſpotic government, which is always

more tranquil than that of a republic. Athens is at this day in a more peaceable ſtate, than in the time of Themiſtocles. Rome enjoyed a greater degree of quiet under the Tarquins, and under Sylla, than at the firſt eſtabliſhment of the tribunes. There is more tranquillity in a dungeon, than in a public ſquare. But is France more happy now than ſhe was before Fructidor. I declare the reverſe. But ſhould I be miſtaken, the people muſt be happier under a deſpotic government (for that of the Directory is more deſpotic than any which has hitherto exiſted) than under that of a republic. This, however, is the ſyſtem of Reubel and of all the Royaliſts. They only differ reſpecting the nature of the monarchy; the latter wiſh it to be hereditary, while Reubel is anxious that it ſhould be elective, provided that the choice ſhould fall upon himſelf.

We are compelled, therefore, for the honour even of the Republic, to believe that the people now ſuffer more than they ſuffered before Fructidor: but every citizen is obliged to concen-

trate his grief; and ſince the liberty of the preſs has been deſtroyed, no means are poſſeſſed of giving vent to it. Nay, if he dares to make his complaints known in his diſtrict, he would be inſtantly dragged before the agents of the executive power, loaded with irons, and abandoned or put to death, as a counter-revolutioniſt. If he ſhould be bold enough but to claim, even in a whiſper, his rights as a *republican*, he would be proſcribed as a *royaliſt*. In a free country, the ſuffering is ſmall and the outcry great, while, on the contrary, under a tyrannical government, the ſufferings are great and the complaints are ſlender. Such is the difference between the epoch which preceded the 18th Fructidor, and that which has followed it.

Before Fructidor the public agitation was extreme, becauſe a diviſion had taken place between the two higher conſtituted authorities. Such are the ſtorms which muſt be expected in democratic governments. There were two modes, however, of tranquillizing this agitation which preſented themſelves: that of concilia-

tion, by the ſentiment of patriotiſm and a ſenſe of common danger, which would not intrude upon their reſpective powers, was ſuited to the republican ſyſtem, and eſtabliſhed confidence in the ſocial compact. 2dly, The other was, that one of theſe authorities ſhould cruſh the other; and this the Executive Directory, which had the power in its hand, thought proper to adopt.— It not only refuſed to attempt the firſt mode of ſettling the exiſting differences, but manifeſted an unſurmountable reluctance, and repelled with ſcorn every advance that was made on the occaſion. And what has been the reſult of ſuch a conduct? A monarchy veſted in five perſons. Nor can we fail to remark, that the men who have formed this monarchical ſyſtem, the new monarchs themſelves, as well as thoſe who did not bluſh to be their humble agents, who called themſelves *republicans*, are the very perſons who have denominated others *royaliſts*, and under that character have proſcribed and baniſhed them.

Thus it has been, and thus it will ever be, when ſimilar circumſtances happen in the world.

It would be too dangerous to tell the people, that they are about to be deprived of their liberty; and it has ever been the policy of tyrants, to aſſure them that they would break their chains aſunder, at the very moment when they were about to add to the weight of them.—Octavius would not aboliſh the name of republic. England was denominated a republic under the oppreſſion of Cromwell; and never was the title of republic ſo fearfully reſpected in France as under the revolutionary government. At this moment, not only in France, but in Switzerland, in Holland, at Rome, Genoa, and Milan, nay, in every part of Europe where the Directory governs openly or ſecretly, by its proconſuls and armies, is not every one compelled, from fear, to affirm that he is free?—The time may be approaching, when men, while they are roaſting alive, ſhall be compelled to declare *how happy they are;* like the ſavages, who glory in partaking of, and even ſurpaſſing, the joy of thoſe who are mangling their bodies, as a preparation for eating them.

And who are they whom we muſt conſider as the real friends of royalty, if they are not thoſe who force us to regret the departure of it by their own tyranny? And who are the decided enemies of the republican government, but thoſe who ſtrive to render it odious?—Since words alone are of no value, it is experimental happineſs which the people require. If they are wretched in a republic, they will demand a monarchy.—If they are made to believe that a republic offers nothing but a perpetual ſtate of ſelf-denial; that it is a government where juſtice is adminiſtered by cannon-balls, and where it is diſpenſed with when any one cuts the throat of a royaliſt; where fear is the univerſal principle of action; where natural affections are weakneſſes, and the prejudices of education are conſidered as crimes; where decorum and good faith are ridiculous, and a wiſh for tranquillity a breach of public duty; where liberty conſiſts in a right to oppreſs, and the character of the government is violent and arbitrary; I ſay, if ſuch a deſcription of a republic

is offered to the people,—they will demand a monarchy.

Such, alas, is the falſe but miſerable opinion which the greater part of the French nation have been brought to adopt.—Examine then, particularly in the country, and you will now diſcover that each of them has quietly formed a diſtinct and two-fold arrangement of his fellow-citizens. In one of theſe claſſes, he places thoſe who are gentle in their manners, of peaceable diſpoſition, very ſuſceptible of alarm, but regular in their lives, and ſupporters of good order, and theſe he will deſcribe as Ariſtocrats. In the other—he arranges all thoſe whoſe qualities appear to be inſenſibility, effrontery, luxurioufneſs, calumny, and impiety; and he names them Patriots.—Such will be almoſt univerſally the conſequence of ſuch an examination.

He revolts within himſelf at the idea of a Republic; but it is becauſe he is deceived; it is becauſe, in the republic which is offered to his adoption, he beholds all the vices of monar-

chy: and thus forming an opinion of the latter, diametrically oppoſite to its real character, he attributes to it all the advantages which belong only to the former. Hence it is that the people, who are naturally republicans, appear to long for monarchy, when they are only agitated with the deſire of improving their ſituation, and of enjoying the benefits which the republican compact had promiſed them. It will ever prove a fruitleſs attempt to tear from our nature that inſtinct, by which man perceives that he has a principle of reciprocal benevolence within him that is pre-exiſtent to all human inſtitutions, by which he ſympathizes in the happineſs and miſery of his fellow-creatures. He is ſenſible that if this principle, which is the law of nature, ceaſes to exiſt, ſociety itſelf would be inſtantly diſſolved, or would poſſeſs but a precarious being under the terror of deſpotiſm; he perceives that all the poſitive laws muſt re-unite themſelves to this baſis as to their natural root; that their genuine object is to augment the inherent diſpoſition and efficacy of this principle, and to complete, with a bolder line, that happy

ſketch of nature, under the ſanction of cuſtoms and uſages. The legiſlator, who loſes ſight of this object, commits every thing to chance, and runs counter to his principal deſign, when, inſtead of enforcing, he weakens this principle, and ſubſtitutes in its place a ſyſtem of fallacious independence and egoiſm; for egoiſm is a leading principle in political diviſion, in ſovereignty, and monarchical power; while reciprocal benevolence is, on the contrary, the baſis of that national equality which forms the ſimple foundation of liberty, which ſecures the property of every individual by the protection of all the reſt, and is, in one word, the genuine principle of a Republic.

There never was a king who made ſuch an oſtentatious and tyrannical diſplay of kingly power as each of our republican directors; never did any monarch equal them in watching the moſt trifling actions of his ſubjects. Never did the former monarchs of France treat their parliaments with the contempt which the Directory have manifeſted to the Legiſlative Bodies.

Cromwell himſelf did not reduce the Parliament of England to ſimilar ignominy. The national repreſentation could not be reduced to a more abject ſtate than that of being converted, under the cannon of the Directory, into a revolutionary tribunal. What is become of the ſolemn engagements entered into by the repreſentatives of the people? Where is the man who will hereafter dare to exert himſelf in defending the rights of theſe very people, and will have the courage to condemn thoſe who waſte the contributions raiſed by their own arbitrary exactions? Where is the man who will venture to oppoſe himſelf to thoſe who make peace or war without his participation; who at midnight violate the aſylum of the peaceful citizen, and ſend him to Cayenne, which is become the ſeat of thoſe baſtilles that have been eſtabliſhed by the Republic? If there ſhould be a man poſſeſſed of a degree of courage equal to ſuch a conduct, let me aſk, whether he would not be involved in the firſt conſpiracy which the directors may find eſſential to the execution of their grand projects? But

to be reduced to applaud ſuch a ſcene of baſeneſs, is to ſink into a ſtate of ignominy that is ſcarce exceeded by the vile courtier, who, when the tyrant of Aſia had pierced the heart of his ſon with an arrow, compared the ſkill of the royal aſſaſſin to that of Apollo.

If I had conſented to ſit upon the ſame throne with the republican directors, they would not have denounced me as a royaliſt; if I had joined them in dragging the national repreſentation through the dirt, they would have conſidered me as a diſtinguiſhed patriot; if I had been an accomplice in their crimes, they would have permitted me to ſhare in their boaſted innocence: but I defy them, and I challenge all thoſe, who have pronounced my condemnation, to bring home to me any expreſſion, writing, or act, whatever, ſince the commencement of the Revolution, which is not altogether conſiſtent with the genuine principles of moderation, of juſtice, and an ardent love of my country. How many are there among them who can, from their hearts, make the

ſame boaſt, and challenge the ſame examination? — and, nevertheleſs, who has been more expoſed, than myſelf, to ſituations of difficulty and danger? I have been ſucceſſively expoſed to every faction, becauſe I have never ceaſed to oppoſe them. I have been reviled by the venal writers of every party, but without one proof to ſupport their calumnies; but thoſe men, who employ their talents in defamation at ſo much per page, are ready to ſerve the republican or the royal cauſe, as either may demand their aſſiſtance. It may be readily conceived that ſuch a man as Bailleul, to ſeize on an employment, will cringe before any one who has the power to beſtow it, whether a prince or a director. But what had I, who was one of the directors, to gain by a counter-revolution? What had I to expect of kings, popes, and emperors? Could they raiſe me into a ſituation of more diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence than that which I poſſeſſed; in which I treated them as my equals, and ſometimes even with that ſuperiority in which I was clothed by the victories of the Republic?

I cannot name a ſituation, on the globe we inhabit, which can be compared with that of a Conſtitutional Member of the Executive Directory; nor more brilliant functions to fulfil, than thoſe whoſe object it is to preſerve the people from the graſp of abſolute power. It is the prominent feature of his duties. And of what materials muſt that man be compoſed, the meaſure of whoſe deſires and ambition would not be filled by receiving ſuch a high and important charge from the confidential preference of ſo great a nation as our own? At the ſame time it my be aſked, what is the magnitude of that man's guilt, who receives this truſt from a free people in order to become a deſpot? Nevertheleſs, the triumvirs, inſtead of preſerving the people from abſolute power, have clothed themſelves with it. They have diſcovered that the office of dictator is ſuperior to that of director, and they aſpire to be dictators. Indeed their prevailing object is to perſuade the people that they may live happy in a ſtate of ſubjection. After the government of ſuch men as theſe, the nation would receive an Henry IV. as

the firſt of bleſſings. It would be no worſe change for them than the abſolute government of one inſtead of five. The people would reaſon no farther on the ſubject; they no longer know the nature of liberty and the rights of man, nor feel a hatred for tyrants; nay, they begin to think that tyrants may be reſpectable! As for me, I would rather be an exile than a director. An oppreſſor of the people is a character replete with infamy; and I boaſt of the honourable allotment, of having become a victim of my fidelity to them.

The tiger of anarchy has long diſplayed his hungry jaws; and what muſt have been his delight, when he beheld the Directory throw to him two of its members to appeaſe his ſavage appetite—when HE became his prey who had ſo long deprived him of his meal — who alone, of the Directory, loved liberty from principle, and for its own ſake, and who had ſerved it with effect! — for it is ſuch men, above all others, that ſuch monſters ſeek to devour; for it is the pure patriot alone that can ſatisfy his

palate; and it is for ſuch food that he will lick, for an inſtant, the hands of his purveyors. The gang of royaliſts expreſſed neither leſs ſurprize or ſatisfaction, when they perceived the opinion of Vergniaud fulfilled, that the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured its own children. All the monarchs of Europe ſhould have offered their moſt grateful acknowledgements to their brethren of France, for having delivered them, at length, from an intractable enemy, which, from the moment of their coalition, had cauſed them ſo much alarm and diſquietude. The choice of ſuch a victim, fulfilled at once the wiſhes of thoſe who were the protectors of Louis XVIII. as well as the Orleans party. It is, however, greatly to be lamented that the good intentions of the republican directors, reſpecting it, have failed of ſucceſs.

What a ſcene of caprice and extravagance!— The triumvirs have paſſed the laſt two years in a ſtate of indifference and indolence; they have abandoned the Legiſlative Body to the fury of every faction; they have continually inſulted it,

and as often treated its members with perſonal degradation; they have even proceeded to tread it under their feet; and, nevertheleſs, theſe very men are held forth by it as the preſervers of liberty. During theſe two years, I, on the contrary, have been employed as a vigilant ſentinel of the national repreſentation; and have formed a rampart againſt the freebooters who wiſhed to be its aſſaſſins; I have diſperſed the ſtorms that menaced it; the wiſh of my heart has been, that it ſhould be the object of univerſal honour; that, even in its extravagancies, it ſhould remain inviolate, and that its members ſhould be treated with reſpect; and yet I am proſcribed; nor was one voice heard from the midſt of it, to oppoſe ſuch an act of extreme injuſtice! the fruits of my devotion to it have been exile, defamation, and miſery! Yes, legiſlators, triumvirs, and generals, who have betrayed your duties; miniſters, who have ſerved the cauſe of iniquity; yes, I prefer my allotment to yours; the ſtate of baniſhment in which I live is dear to me; and I only wiſh that I had merited it, by a ſtill more ardent zeal for the glory and proſperity of my country.

But am I not guilty of injuſtice in declaring, that not one voice was heard in my behalf?—Yes; OUDOT, had the courage, in the Council of Five Hundred, to ſupport my cauſe; while LACUÉE, in the Council of Elders, gave his teſtimony for me; and in ſuch an oppreſſed ſtate as mine, theſe were acts of no common generoſity: and much do I wiſh, that I could offer to men, who are worthy to be the repreſentatives of a free people, ſuch expreſſions of gratitude as their courage demands from me. The ſuffrages of two men who, amidſt ſo much contamination, ſtill maintain their purity, ſatisfies every wiſh of my heart; and will continue to awaken thoſe ſentiments, which they who ordered my proſcription can never inſpire: may this noble act of juſtice, never be the occaſion of cauſing thoſe who performed it to become partakers of my perſecution!*

* Many others, who deſerve a place among the moſt ardent patriots, have expreſſed to me their deep concern on the occaſion; but, they perceived, that it was impoſſible to reſiſt a faction, whoſe meaſures had been formed on a ſyſtem of villany, of which the hiſtory of the world does not offer an example.

I thought it my duty to anſwer the Report of the Committee, as it was an authentic document; and I ſhould conſider it as deſerving of reproach, if I had ſuffered any gall to mix in my reply. No one condemns more ſincerely than myſelf, the practice of anſwering injury by injury; and I ſhould not readily forgive myſelf for any which I might have unneceſſarily uttered againſt my aſſaſſins. But I muſt entreat the reader to conſider, that the nature of an accuſation muſt always determine the manner in which it muſt be anſwered. If the only object had been to expoſe errors; if proofs had been produced to that effect, and I had been called upon to do nothing more than prove their inſignificance, a calm, controverſial diſcuſſion would have been ſufficient; and I ſhould, moſt aſſuredly, have preferred it. But the Directory announces poſitive facts, and gives no other proof of their truth, but the moral virtue of the accuſers. It became, then, a duty I owed to myſelf, to prove the frail nature of their teſtimony; to make it appear, that they have not acted from error or miſconception, but from the worſt principles; that my accuſers have

not been deceived, but are themſelves the deceivers. I muſt, at length, unmaſk theſe impoſtors and univerſal plunderers. I do not, indeed, poſſeſs the art of telling any one, in poliſhed terms, that he is a liar, a traitor, and a cut-throat. If I had applied theſe titles to the triumvirs without proof, and when ſuch a mode of addreſſing them was not connected with unfolding their execrable ſyſtem, I could not have juſtified myſelf. But the contempt which I feel for them, aſſures me, that I have not indulged myſelf in any emotions of paſſion which might turn me aſide from rigid truth. They would not occupy my thoughts for a moment, if they were not blended with the means I muſt employ for my juſtification. How many of their baſe and vile accomplices could I expoſe; and I have never named them! Not, indeed, from any tenderneſs to them, but becauſe, I would not degrade my pen in writing their names; and, becauſe, their miſerable hiſtory could not have ſupported thoſe teſtimonies which I have preſented to the attention of the public. There ſurely cannot be one independent character exiſting,

who, when he reflects on these villains, does not feel himself moved by that awful indignation, which never fails to arise; when triumphant villany basely insults the victim that it has sacrificed.

'It was my ultimate object to make the Republic beloved, by erecting it on the basis of true genuine Liberty, and not according to any of those ridiculous definitions by which it has been misrepresented and misunderstood. It was my ardent wish to preserve, to the national representation of a great people, the supreme rank which the nature of things requires, and the constitution has marked out for it. It has been my desire, that every citizen should be governed in his conduct by institutions which were become habitually practical, rather than by the threats of the law. In short, it has ever been my opinion, that prejudice should be suffered to disperse insensibly before the light of reason, rather than be extirpated by the violence of power. I have certainly committed many errors in pursuing a career to which I had not been originally

deſtined; but I never deſerted the principles which formed a compaſs to guide me through the revolutionary tempeſts. If I availed myſelf of an univerſal enthuſiaſm to puſh on the war with an unexampled vigour, it was rather to put an end to the critical ſtate in which that enthuſiaſm had placed the nation. I had conceived the deſign of writing the hiſtory of this hallowed war, which has fixed the baſis of the great Republic on its own immortal trophies; and to conſign, in its annals, the innumerable acts of its heroes, for the glory and inſtruction of their poſterity.—With this view I eſtabliſhed the office, called the *Typographical* and *Hiſtorical Cabinet*, where I had cauſed a very large quantity of materials to be collected; and which others may be better qualified to unfold to the world than myſelf.

I did not employ the power which was delegated to me in amaſſing riches, or in raiſing my relations to lucrative employments:—I have clean hands and a pure heart.

I ſhall never ceaſe to direct my thoughts towards my country. No one can deſpoil me of the character of a citizen, which the conſtitution has given me, and which I have merited by the affection I bear it, and my zeal to its ſervice. I am not conſcious of having committed one arbitrary or tyrannic act: I demand a regular and conſtitutional trial, and I do not fear either the ſeverity of my judges or the appointment of the jury; whatever they may be, I am certain of being as good a republican as the moſt zealous of them. The only crime with which I ſhall be charged, is the vain but patriot attempt to ſave the French people from the dominion of tyrants. It was not, however, poſſible for me to ſucceed in this deſign, becauſe I employed only ſuch means as were authorized by the conſtitution which was confided to me, and I was oppoſed by monſters, to whom nothing that thwarted their views was inviolable or ſacred.

O France! O my country! O great and renowned people! it was in thy boſom that I had

the happineſs to be born; and I cannot ceaſe to belong to thee, till I exiſt no more. You contain all the objects of my affection; the work which my hands contributed to eſtabliſh; the virtuous old man that gave me life; a family without ſtain; friends who know the bottom of my heart, and can affirm, that it never conceived a thought but for the happineſs of my countrymen, or formed a wiſh but for their immortal glory and continual proſperity. Receive, O my country! this vow, which is renewed every ſucceeding day of my life, which I, at this moment, addreſs to all thoſe great and virtuous characters which you poſſeſs; to all thoſe who cheriſh in their hearts the ſacred ſpark of liberty. I conclude by the Spartan prayer, "ENABLE US, YE GODS, TO BEAR INJUSTICE!"

THE END.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

DEPORTATION TO CAYENNE,

OF

BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU,

&c. &c.

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IN CONSEQUENCE OF

THE REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR,

(SEPTEMBER 4, 1797).

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FROM THE FRENCH OF

GENERAL RAMEL,

COMMANDANT OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY GUARD.

Et quorum pars magna fui!

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. BAYLIS, GREVILLE-STREET, HATTON-GARDEN,

FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1799.

Just Published,

THE THIRD EDITION,

REPLY OF L. N. M. CARNOT,

CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC, AND
CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY,

To the REPORT made on the CONSPIRACY of the 18th Fructidor, by J. CH. BAILLEUL, in the Name of the Select Committee.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c. &c.

AT length I am arrived on the continent of Europe, and am taking my leave of that hospitable land where myself and my companions in misfortune have met with a reception equally honourable to the government to whom we are indebted for it, and to the victims of tyranny who were its objects. Yet even the gratitude I sincerely feel has not induced me to fix my residence among my generous enemies, of whom I entertain so high an opinion that I am persuaded the motives which led me to refuse their asylum have procured me their esteem. I

cannot but believe that it is not against our country: it is not against France, but against the tyrants who enslave it that England is carrying on war; yet it is the blood of Frenchmen that has lately stained the ocean, and is again about to deluge our frontiers! I have participated their fatigues and dangers, and should still be fighting in their ranks had I not been torn from them by the hand of violence. Nor will I ever espouse any other cause than that of national independence, or fight by the side of any warriors but Frenchmen who take up arms for the liberty of their country. Thus is a sentiment of eternal gratitude reconciled to an inviolable fidelity to my duty; and it is with a view to give a proof of both that I publish this Narrative. It will be easily perceived that the writer is a soldier who has taken part in the great events he relates only in consequence of the post he filled; but who, never having stepped beyond the narrow circle of his duty, is unwilling that the tyrants whom he detests, or the intriguers whom he despises, should mistate his actions according to their personal interests or passions. If

all those who have had the misfortune to act in the various scenes of the French Revolution would thus record for posterity those transactions alone of which they were eye-witnesses, materials would exist among which the future historian, when seeking for truth amidst innumerable contradictions, might find documents that would bear those marks of authenticity which exclusively belong to the testimony of a conscience free from reproaches.

During my exile I have only been able to preserve a few notes to assist my memory which was impaired by illness, to recal the order and chain of events. Several particulars will no doubt have escaped me, but the principal and most interesting will at least be hastily sketched. I shall state plain facts, the simple but awful truth, to which I shall be so far from adding that I shall even avoid the most natural reflections. While describing these fatal scenes, I shall wave all personal resentments, however just and well founded they may be; my heart is too full of the misfortunes of my family, and the

dreadful situation in which I have left many of my brothers in exile, for hatred or revenge to find a place in my writings.

From the year 1792 I had been Adjutant General of the Army of the Rhine, under the orders of the brave General Dessaix, and was specially appointed to the command of the fort of Kehl, which was then besieged by Prince Charles, when I received an order from the Directory to go to Paris to take the command of the guard of the Legislative Body, to which I had been nominated by the two Councils. That corps of grenadiers, which at first consisted of a battalion of 800 men, had lately been increased to two battalions of 600 men each. The origin of this corps was the battalion of grenadiers of the Convention. If we recollect the period at which this corps was established, we shall easily form an idea of its temper and of the necessity of reforming it. This I was constantly endeavouring to bring about. A new organization, and the filling up the ranks with excellent grenadiers from all the armies, were the means I em-

ployed. In this I was so well supported by the two committees and the ministers, that, in spite of the cabals of the Jacobins, I succeeded in re-establishing the discipline of the troops, and order in the administration of the regiments. Having been frequently attacked, I have had various opportunities of proving, both to the friends and enemies of the government, my fidelity to the constitution. The consequence was, as I might have expected, that I displeased the violent of both parties. As long as public affairs were conducted by men of sense I had only to defend myself against some obscure miscreants who continually endeavoured to corrupt the grenadiers, and exerted themselves in vain to cast suspicions on me; but after the last change in the Legislative Body, in proportion as these discussions grew more animated, and especially when the Directory set every thing in a flame by means of the addresses from the Army of Italy, I was tormented on all sides; and the factious took advantage of the general ferment which was so favourable to their designs.

They no longer endeavoured to conceal their plots, and I surprised their emissaries in the barracks and among the ranks. In short, every mode of seduction was employed. In reflecting even now on the conduct I then held under these difficult circumstances, I have no reason to repent of it, since it procured me the hatred of bad men, and enabled me to keep the most violent within bounds. Some were desirous of displacing me; and, a short time previous to the 18th of Fructidor, the Directory caused an offer to be made me of a promotion to another post if I would resign my command.

I was certain to fall a victim to my duty, were it merely because I was resolved to remain faithful to it; nor could I expect justice from any of the parties who were furiously attacking each other. I could only expect it from the virtuous few who were destined to be sacrificed to their fury. But I am contented with the esteem of true patriots, and leave it to the rational part of mankind to judge whether I have deserved it.

For some days past, in consequence of the information received by the committees of inspection for the palace of the two Councils, more than ordinary vigilance had been enjoined me, and I had taken all the necessary precautions to avoid being surprised by the only attack which I had reason to fear, that of the anarchists, who had for some time filled the streets and squares of Paris, and loudly threatened the Legislative Body even within the limits of my station.

In the evening of the 17th, after having visited my posts, on going to receive the orders of the members of the committee, they seemed equally averse as on the preceding days to believe that the Directory would attempt to destroy the Legislative Body, or would dare to direct an armed force against it. I heard several deputies, and particularly Emery, Dumas, Vaublanc, Tronçon du Coudray and Thibaudeau, express their indignation at the supposition, and at the terror it was calculated to raise among the people. Their security was such that they retired before midnight, and were accompanied by those of

their colleagues who had come to communicate the fears which their private information had excited. I then returned to my quarters to see that my grenadiers were ready to be under arms.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 18th, I received orders from the Minister of War to attend him. I immediately went to the committee room, where I found only one of the inspectors, Rovère, lying down. I communicated to him the order I had received, and added, that "I had been informed several columns of troops were pouring into Paris, and that the commander of the guard of cavalry belonging to the Councils had just informed me he had called in his sentries, and marched his troops over the bridges, together with the two pieces of canon from the great court of the Thuilleries." It must be observed, that it was in conformity to the orders of the commander in chief, Augereau, that the officer of cavalry refused to obey mine, and had passed the bridges with his troop. Rovère replied, that "all these manœuvres signified nothing,

thing, for orders had been given that several bodies of troops should march over the bridges early in the morning, to perform their exercise; that I need not be alarmed; that he had received very faithful reports, and saw no inconvenience in my waiting on the Minister of War." This, however, I thought it not advisable to do, for fear of being separated from my men.

When I returned home, at half past three in the morning, Poinçot, general of brigade, formerly a garde-du-corps, with whom I had been on terms of friendship and intimacy in the army of the Pyrenees, was announced as coming from General Lemoine, and delivered me a note to the following effect:

"General Lemoine, in the name of the Directory, requires the commander of the grenadiers of the Legislative Body to permit a column of 1,500 men, who are appointed to execute the orders of the government, to pass over the *Pont-Tournant.*"

I replied, that " I was astonished, an old comrade, who ought to know me better, should consent to convey an order which, consistently with my honour, I could not obey." But he assured me, that all resistance would be useless, that my 800 grenadiers were already surrounded by 12,000 men, with 40 pieces of cannon. I replied, " that no force directed against the post I commanded should compel me to violate my duty, and that I could receive no orders but from the Legislative Body, which I would immediately go for."

At this moment, I heard a cannon go off, so near me that I imagined my post was already attacked. It was, however, only a signal. I now instantly ordered my grenadiers under arms, and went to the Thuilleries, accompanied by the chiefs of battalion, Pousard and Pleichard, both excellent officers, and in whom I had great confidence.

At the committee of inspection I found Generals Pichegru and Willot. I sent messengers to General Dumas, to the Presidents of both the

Councils; Lafond Ladebat for the Council of Elders, and Simeon for that of Five Hundred; and also to the deputies in the neighbourhood of the Thuilleries, whose residences I happened to know. I prevailed on General Pichegru to come and reconnoitre the position of the troops, who, we found, had already surrounded us, and I renewed my orders to Capt. Vallière, who commanded the post of the *Place de Carousel*, and Lieutenant Le Roy, who commanded that of the *Pont-Tournant*, to stand firm to their posts, and not to quit them without orders signed by me. We then returned to the committee, and as I was asking for orders how to dispose of my corps-de-réserve, a messenger arrived, with information that the iron gates of the *Pont-Tournant* had been forced. At the same instant, the divisions of Augereau and Lemoine joined, and the garden of the Thuilleries was filled with troops of both armies. Cannon were pointed against the hall of the Council of Elders, all the avenues were guarded, all the posts doubled and masked by superior forces. The post of the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, which was com-

manded by the brave Lieutenant Blot, had alone refused to open the iron gates, and mix with the troops of Augereau.

In this extremity I positively demanded an order for the corps-de-réserve of grenadiers to be put in motion, and repel force by force. But the deputies replied, that all resistance would be useless, and prohibited me from firing.

It was then half past four o'clock, and General Verdière came to signify to the deputies already assembled, that he had orders to make them quit the palace, and to carry the keys to the Directory. Their refusal excited very warm altercations, but Verdière persisted in his demand, and prevailed with one of them to come down into the garden to speak to General Lemoine. Rovère went down also, and I accompanied them, with my two chiefs of battalion: but we did not find General Lemoine on the terrace. Verdière, however, advised the deputies to withdraw themselves *for their own safety*; and upon their refusal, he stopped all the avenues, and said he

would go and take the instructions of the Directory.

I returned to my post, my corps-de-réserve, from whence I sent a confidential person to General Dumas, to warn him to be upon his guard. He received this message at the very moment when he was entering the court of the barracks, and I have heard from my brother exiles an account of the great efforts he made to join them. He penetrated as far as the terrace adjoining the wing of the Thuilleries, where the troops of Augereau were drawn up; and, even after having learned that the inspectors were arrested, he was going up to the hall to share their fate, when his companions threw him a paper to desire him to make his escape. He had the good fortune to take it up without being noticed, and to pass the sentinels, who were ordered not to let any one quit the place.

At half after five, an aid-de-camp of General Augereau brought me the following order:

" The commander of the grenadiers of the " Legislative Body is ordered to proceed with his " corps to the *Quay d'Orsay*, where he will wait " for further orders.

(Signed) " AUGEREAU."

This order I refused to obey. I could no longer communicate with the committees, who were arrested and blockaded in the palace. I therefore waited with my corps for the orders of the two Councils; and I must do my men the justice to declare that, hitherto, notwithstanding the critical situation in which we were placed, they kept their ranks with the most perfect firmness; I did not hear a single murmur, and I believe that, so far from being seduced by a few obscure and factious intriguers, the majority were sound, and would have compelled their brethren to have fought bravely by their sides, had I been so fortunate as to have received an order to repel force by force. Having ranged my officers in a circle, to communicate the orders of General Augereau, almost all of them approved my conduct. This was the moment in which some fac-

tious men declared themselves. Captain Tortel exclaimed—" We are not Swiss!" Lieutenant Ménéguin was even so bold as to boast of being the principal author of the revolt of the *Gardes Françaises*. The under-lieutenant Devaux said—" I was wounded on the 13th Vendémiaire fighting against Louis XVIII., and I will not now " fight for him." Another cried aloud—" The " Councils are acting for the King; they are a " set of miscreants, and ought to be exterminated." During these speeches and the disputes they occasioned among the officers, disorder began to spread among the ranks. The chief of brigade, Blanchard, who commanded under me, and who for two months had not dared to show himself, because I had discovered his intrigues, his connections with sanguinary men, and his rapacity in the administration of the corps, suddenly appeared and demanded a distribution of cartridges, on account, he said, of the danger that surrounded us. I felt indignant at his insolence, and I could not help pointedly expressing it to him. I observed, that the grenadiers participated in my indignation; though the same men, an

hour after, marched under an officer whom they despised, and followed him to the Directory. What a lesson to the commanders of troops!

— A few moments after this scene, I ordered the ranks to open, that I might inspect my corps, who still kept a good countenance. I had proceeded as far as the third company, when I heard loud and repeated cries of *Vive la République!* and, at the same time, Augereau appeared at the head of so numerous a staff, that the first court of the barracks was quite full. There were above 400 officers of all ranks, among whom I perceived many justly celebrated men, particularly Santerre, Tunck, Yon, Rossignol, Puget, Barbantane, Châteauneuf-Randon, Bessierre, Fournier, Pâche, and the widow Ronsin, in an amazonian dress; also Dutertre and Peyron, both of whom had escaped from the gallies. In short, the very scum of our brave French armies, the leaders of all the revolutionary bands, rushed in a moment among the ranks of my grenadiers, all crying out *Vive la République!*

At this time, Augereau came directly up to me, and in his train, which separated me from my men, I perceived Blanchard stirring up his worthy friends, and mixing with the ranks. Among other ill-boding cries, I distinguished these words —" Soldiers, they want to treat you as they did " the Swiss on the 10th of August."—" Ge- " neral Ramel," exclaimed Augereau, " why " have you disobeyed the minister's orders and " mine ?"—" Because," replied I, " I received " contrary orders from the Legislative Body."— " You have exposed yourself," returned he, " to be tried by a court-martial and shot."—" I " have done my duty," replied I.—" Do you " acknowledge me," said he, " as commander in " chief of the division ?"—" Yes," said I.— " Well," replied he, " I order you under arrest." —" I go," said I ; and immediately was crossing the gallery of communication of the quarters of my grenadiers to my own apartment, when I heard that Augereau was following me with part of his staff. Among other menaces, I distinguished these words—" You shall suffer as much " as you have made others suffer ;" yet I never

caused any one to suffer, except those miscreants who deserved it!

As he was now close to me, I put my hand on my sword; upon which all of them fell upon me at once; my sword was broken, I was dragged along, and my clothes were torn. The most furious of my assassins was a serjeant of grenadiers, named Viel, whom I had ordered under arrest a few days before. He now endeavoured to plunge his sabre into my body. It was Augereau himself who saved me from being murdered, and disengaged me from my assailants, crying out vehemently—"Leave him, leave him, do not "kill him; I promise you he shall be shot to-"morrow!"

These miscreants now tore my hat, which had fallen in the contest, but not, as has been said, the badges of my military rank; it was only for my blood they thirsted.

A faithful servant, who came out to meet me, was cut with a sabre in the face, and, being co-

vered with wounds, took refuge in my wife's chamber.

When I got home, I was not allowed to settle my affairs, but was conducted almost immediately to the Temple, together with my brother Henry, who obtained permission to accompany me. The jailor said, as we entered—"O! here "is one of them; the gentleman must be shown "into the *Chambre des Opinions*." This was the room in which the unfortunate Louis was imprisoned, nor had I any hope of quitting it in any other manner.

At half after eight, the jailor came to inform me, that the deputies arrested at the committee of inspection were just brought in. They were also shown into the King's apartment, and the communication with the rooms formerly occupied by the Queen and Princesses was left free. The arrested deputies were Pichegru, Willot, d'Auchy de Loire, Jarri, Lamétrie, Larue, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Durumas. We found at the Temple Commodore (Sir Sidney) Smith, la Vilheurnois,

Brothier and Duverne du Presle: but the last was removed to the prison called the *Maison de Force* immediately on our arrival. At noon, the deputy Aubry was brought in; at half past three, Lafond Ladebat, President of the Council of Elders, Tronçon du Coudray, Marbois, and Goupil de Prefeln, all members of the same Council. These last were arrested at the house of Lafond Ladebat, under pretence that they were holding a seditious meeting.

They were first carried before Sotin, the Minister of Police, where they complained of the violence done to the representatives of the people, and demanded a sight of the order of the Directory. Sotin answered with a sneer: "It is of "very little consequence, gentlemen, to show you "the orders; for when we come to these extremi- "ties, it is the same thing whether we commit "ourselves a little more or a little less."

On the 19th, we heard an account of the sittings held by the minority of the two Councils under the eyes of the Directory, and that a law

had been passed, condemning us, without cause and without judgement, to be deported to the place fixed on by the Directory themselves. At this sentence we were much surprised; for we did not doubt but after our violent arrestation, a shorter and consequently less painful fate awaited us under the forms of military law.

Those of the imprisoned deputies who were not proscribed were now set at liberty; namely, Goupil de Prefeln, Lamétrie, d'Auchy, Jarri, and Durumas.

On the 20th, General Augereau gave orders in the following terms: " General Dutertre, commandant of the Temple, is ordered not to permit any communication with the deported deputies, whatever be the order under which it shall be demanded, or the authority by whom such order may be given, unless it be signed by me." This Dutertre had a month before come out of the gallies of Toulon, where he had been confined under sentence of a court-martial for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to houses in la Vendée.

On that day, our wives were allowed to come to the Temple. What heart-rending scenes! what cruel separations! I was not permitted to see mine except in the presence of an officer, who would not suffer us to whisper, or speak in the dialect of Languedoc, which he did not understand. Enraged at this restraint, I broke off my interview, and intreated my wife to leave me. She obeyed; but her cries and sobs still vibrate in my ear!

The same day was brought to the Temple General Murinais, one of the inspectors of the hall of the Elders. This venerable old man had been arrested as he was going in perfect security to the Council.

On the 21st, I parted with my brother Henry, though I had great difficulty to induce him to leave me; for he persisted in sharing my misfortunes, and without the assistance of my fellow prisoners, Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois, I should never have convinced him that he would do me more service by consoling my family for my loss, than by assisting me to bear my chains.

At midnight, the jailor came to inform us that the Minister of Police was just arrived with the Director Barthélemy, and that probably we were immediately to set off. Nor were we even allowed a quarter of an hour to collect our effects together, although none of us were at all prepared for so precipitate a departure.

When we came down to the foot of the tower we found Barthélemy between Augereau and Sotin, who, as he brought him to the Temple in his carriage, said to him: "Such is the nature "of revolutions! *we* triumph to-day; to-morrow, "perhaps, *your* turn will come." Barthélemy having asked him, if no misfortune had happened, and whether the public tranquillity had not been disturbed? Sotin replied: "No; the dose was a "good one; the people have swallowed the pill, "and it has taken effect."

When Sotin took leave of us, he affected to be gay, and said: "Gentlemen, I wish you a "good voyage." Augereau called over the condemned, and, as we were named, a guard con-

ducted us to the carriages that were waiting for us, across a line of soldiers who insulted us. Some of us were even maltreated, and our faithful servants, among whom was my poor Etienne, whose face was gashed and disfigured with wounds, had not left the prison gate, where they had been watching for our departure, that they might bid us adieu, but they were repulsed, and struck by the soldiers, who cried out: "This is "not the promise that was made us; why are "they suffered to go away, and why are they "carrying their effects with them?" Augereau observing our tranquillity, could not contain his rage, which he suffered to break forth in a manner that deserves to be recorded.

Le Tellier, servant to Barthélemy, came running up, as we were getting into the carriages, with an order from the Directory, permitting him to accompany his master. He delivered it to Augereau, who, having read it, said: "You "are determined, then, to share the fate of these "men, who are lost for ever. Whatever events "await them, be assured, they will never return."

"My

" My mind is made up," answered Le Tellier, " I shall be but too happy to share the misfor- " tunes of my master."—" Well, then," replied Augereau, " go! fanatic, and perish with him."—At the same time adding: " Soldiers, let this man " be watched as closely as those miscreants." Le Tellier now threw himself on his knees before his master, who was but too happy at this awful moment to press so affectionate a friend to his bosom. This worthy fellow has constantly shown the same courage and attachment, and we have always treated and considered him as one of our companions.

The four carriages in which the sixteen prisoners were seated, without regard to the ill health and weakness of some of us, were placed upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage, secured on all their four sides with bars of iron breast high, which bruised us with the least shake or jolt. We were four in each carriage, besides a guard who carried the key of the padlock that fastened the iron grating by which we

entered. General Dutertre commanded the escort, consisting of 600 men, infantry and cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. During the time that the carriages and cavalcade were preparing to move, in the court-yard of the Temple, we were loaded with insults by a considerable body of anarchists.

We set off at two in the morning of the 22nd, Fructidor (8 September), in dreadfully bad weather, and were made to traverse all Paris, which we were to quit by the *Barrière d'Enfer*, leading to the Orleans road: instead of going along the *Rue St. Jacques*, our escort turned to the right, after passing the bridge, and brought us by the Luxembourg Palace, where our melancholy funeral procession was detained more than three quarters of an hour. We saw lights in the apartments of the Palace; and, amidst the tumultuous joy of the guards, we heard the execrable Dutertre called to, and desired *to take good care of those gentlemen*. Some too well known members of the minority in the Council of Five Hundred, who were holding the celebrated permanent

sitting at the Odeum, came out to see us, and basely insulted us. They mixed with the *chasseurs* of the escort, gave them drink, and, approaching the carriages, drank our healths, and talked to us of *mercy* and *pardon*.

The stormy night, the glare of the fire-pots burning around the theatre of the Odeum, and the howlings of the terrorists, made this dreadful farewell a scene of horror truly worthy of the barbarians who gave it birth. At length, however, the escort passed along the *Rue d'Enfer*, and thus we quitted Paris.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at Arpajon, which is eight leagues from Paris, extremely fatigued with the jolting of the waggons along this paved road; both Barthélemy and Barbé Marbois appeared almost exhausted. Yet, to our astonishment, in lieu of procuring us a comfortable lodging, that we might recover our strength, the commandant, Dutertre, conducted us to an obscure dirty prison. He watched our countenances as we quitted the carriages to enter

our dungeon, and was enraged that any of us should appear not to be affected by this accumulation of hardships. " These miscreants," cried he, " look as if they meant to brave me; but I " will see if I cannot conquer this insolence." I had already laid myself down on some straw, together with several of my companions; Barthélemy, who was standing, raised his hands towards Heaven; Barbé-Marbois, who was very ill, arrived, and drawing back with horror at the sight and mephitic smell of this subterraneous dungeon, said to Dutertre: " Let me be shot immediately, " and spare me the horrors of dying by inches." The latter smiled, and made a sign to the jailor to do his office. The jailor's wife then said, with an imprecation, to Marbois: " You pretend to " be very nice; many men who are as good as " you don't make such a pother." As she finished this speech she took him by the arm and threw him from the top to the bottom, and, notwithstanding our cries and those of our wounded fellow prisoner, this infernal fury immediately shut the door upon us, and left us in the dark to raise up our unfortunate friend, who was covered with

blood. Nor could we obtain for him either a surgeon or any other assistance; not even a little water to wash his wounds, though his face was much bruised, and one of his jaw bones fractured.

On the 23rd Fructidor (9th Sept.), at noon, we passed through the little town of Etampes, too famous in the course of the revolution, for the commotions of the anarchists, and the murder of a respectable magistrate. Here Dutertre made us halt in the middle of the public square, and exposed us to the insults of the populace, who were suffered to collect around the carriages. We were hooted at, cursed, and covered with mud; and in vain desired we might either go on, or be allowed to get out. Tronçon du Coudray, who was very ill, had gone into the same carriage with his friend Marbois, who had obtained a bundle of straw, as a favour, on account of his recent wound, and the fever it had caused. General Murinais, the Director Barthélemy, and Lafond Ladebat, had joined them. These five men, who were united by a similarity of opi-

nions and of views relative to the causes and consequences of the events of the 5th Sept., continued together during the remainder of our journey. At Etampes, which is in the department of the Seine and Oise, du Coudray, who was deputy for that department, was in the very district whose inhabitants had contributed to his election with the greatest ardour. He strongly felt the ingratitude and base desertion of his fellow-citizens; and, suddenly rising up, as if he had been at the tribune, " 'Tis I myself," said he, " 'tis your representative; do you know me in this iron cage? 'Tis I to whom you entrusted the guardianship of your rights, and it is in my person those rights have been violated. I am dragged to punishment without having been tried, or even accused. My crime is that of having defended your liberties and properties, endeavoured to procure peace for our country, and thus to restore your children to you. My crime is that of having been faithful to the constitution which we have sworn to maintain. And you this day repay my zeal and asssiduity to serve and defend you, by uniting with

my executioners!" This vehement harangue of du Coudray, of which I have only given the outline, struck a momentary awe into this outrageous mob, among whom, no doubt, there could not be one true French citizen. They presently renewed their insults, which continued, without interruption, till some bread and wine were brought us for our dinner.

After being thus exposed, as it were, in a pillory, during thirteen hours, we set off to sleep at Angerville, which is four leagues from Orleans. Here Dutertre again persisted in crowding us into a dungeon, when Adjutant-General Augereau (who ought by no means to be confounded with the General of that name), being moved with compassion, took upon himself to lodge us at an inn; upon which Dutertre immediately put him under arrest, and sent him back to Paris.

Early on the 24th (10th Sept.) we arrived at Orleans, where we passed the remainder of the day and the following night in a house of confinement, formerly the convent of Ursulines.

Here we met with some feeling hearts, and the hand of humanity eluded the vigilance of our guard, and afforded us those consolations, the charms of which can scarcely be conceived by those who have not experienced them under circumstances of the deepest misery. Here we were not guarded by our escort, but by the Gendarmerie, whose commander discharged his duty with kindness and generosity. Two ladies, or rather two angels, having already made every necessary preparation at the Ursulines, disguised themselves in coarse dresses, to procure an opportunity of attending on us. They offered us such succours as we wanted, and also money: we thanked them affectionately for their kindness, and, though we declined their offers, have derived from the impression this generous action made upon our hearts, a consolation which has often supported our constancy in the hour of trial. At Orleans, we might have made our escape, not by the assistance of the generous ladies, but of persons whose names would in vain be sought for, and who would have devoted themselves for our safety; but we unanimously rejected

rejected the proposal. By some incomprehensible blindness, the majority of our party, and especially those of the Council of Elders, would at that time have thought we sullied our characters had we attempted to elude our sentence.

On the 25th (11th Sept.) we were carried from Orleans to Blois, where we no sooner arrived than we perceived an uncommon assemblage of watermen. Here the carriages were attacked; but Captain Gauthier, who commanded the cavalry of the escort, repulsed the wretches who were at the head of this commotion. We remarked very different impressions in the people: "There they are!" cried they; "there are the miscreants who killed the King! There are his assassins! They have loaded us with taxes; they eat our bread, and are the cause of the war." In short, all the reproaches which the people might justly have directed against their tyrants were lavished upon the victims of tyranny. We were lodged in a small and very damp church, where a little straw had been strewed on the pavement; and it was impossible for us to take

any rest. We endeavoured to learn the cause of these opposite movements of the people, and were informed that the celebrated Abbé Grégoire had procured us this kind reception by his pastoral letters.

On the 26th (12th September), before we quitted our prison at Blois we were witnesses to the last interview and cruel separation of Mr. and Madame de Marbois. This lady was at her estate near Metz when she was informed of the arrest of her husband. On this she flew to Paris, but did not arrive there till after our departure. She immediately followed us, but without waiting to apply to the Directory for permission to see her husband wherever she might overtake us, and the commissary of the government at Blois made use of this pretext to refuse her request. She was in like manner repulsed by the commandant, Dutertre. At length, however, and only a few moments before our departure, by shewing the jailors the permission she had obtained to see her husband in the Temple, she procured that of entering our prison, when she was only allowed a

quarter of an hour, during which an officer held his watch in his hand. A little before the last minute was expired, Marbois collected his strength, and led his worthy help-mate towards us; but Barthélemy and du Coudray were already so much altered that she could not recollect them. " My friends," said her husband, " I present to you Madame de Marbois, who, while parting with me, is desirous to take her leave of you." We gathered round her with transport; and she wished us, not courage, but health and strength. She now burst into tears, and Marbois said, with firmness: " Leave us, leave us; it is time we should part." He then embraced her and carried her in his arms to the gate of the prison, which he opened and shut again himself, after which he fell on the pavement in a swoon. We immediately flew to his assistance. " My friends," said he, when partly recovered, " here I am again entire. I have found again the source of my courage." Accordingly from that time he was less depressed by his illness, recovered a part of his strength, and with it that firm and serene

countenance which is the natural companion of fortitude.

The preparations for our departure from Blois were protracted so long that we had reason to fear we were to remain there; and it was by a singular circumstance we learnt the motives of this delay. The Adjutant-General of our escort, Colin, well known in consequence of the part he took in the masscres of the 2nd. of September, and a man named Guillet, his worthy companion, came into the prison about 10 o'clock, when they both seemed much agitated. "Gentlemen," said the municipal officer of the guard, who had never left us since our arrival, "why do you not set off? every thing has been long ready; the crowd increases; and your conduct is more than suspicious. I have seen and heard both of you instigating the people to commit violence on the prisoners, and I declare to you that if any accident happens I will cause my deposition to be recorded in the books of the municipality." These two villains stammered out some paltry excuses, and we were accom-

panied at our departure with the same clamours, imprecations and menaces, with which we had been received the day before.

That night (12th September), we slept at Amboise, in so small a room that we could not lay ourselves down upon the straw, and we felt very impatient to arrive at Tours that we might take a little rest.

We arrived there on the 27th (13th September). This town had lately experienced a commotion in which some blood had been spilt. The anarchists, who had long been kept down, had broke out under pretext of the pretended conspiracy of the Legislative Body. Emboldened by the new measures of the government, whose protection had been given to miscreants, and not content with oppressing good citizens from whom that protection was withdrawn, they attacked them with arms, and imbrued their hands in their blood. The constituted authorities had lately undergone what, in the language of these men, is called a purification, and the places of

the true magistrates elected by the people were now filled by the same men who, during the war of La Vendée, had become eminent among informers and executioners. We were carried to the prison of the Conciergerie, which was full of galley-slaves in chains, and we were put together with them into a court surrounded by dungeons, where they were shut up at night, and one of which was now appropriated for us. Our guard had scarcely left us, before the convicts with one accord withdrew into a corner, and while they thus modestly kept their distance, one of them said to us: "Gentlemen, we are sorry to see you "here. We are not worthy to approach you; "but if in the miserable condition to which we "are reduced we can render you any service, "deign to accept it. The dungeon appointed "for you is the coldest and narrowest of all; and "we request you to accept of ours which is "larger and less damp." We thanked these poor wretches, and accepted this singular hospitality, offered us by hands which had been sullied with crimes, but by hearts which were open to pity.

It was above thirty hours since we had eaten, when a pound of bread and half a bottle of wine each, which was all our allowance, were brought to us.

On the 28th (14th September), we arrived at St. Maure. Our escort was extremely fatigued, for we made double the usual marches, and no halts. The infantry had been exchanged in the garrisons; but the cavalry were quite exhausted. Dutertre finding here a moveable column of the national guards, consisting of peasants, placed us in their custody, the better to refresh his troops, and rendered the municipality responsible for our persons. And here let me pay a tribute of gratitude and remembrance for the compassionate attentions we received from the inhabitants of St. Maure, who procured us that wholesome food of which we were in extreme want. We were now less narrowly guarded, and such was the negligence or rather the benevolence of these good peasants, the majority of whom were armed only with pikes, that we could go even to the high road without being attended or watched by the senti-

nels. As we were within musket shot of the forest, some of us proposed, and myself among the number, to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Not that I would have abandoned any one of my brothers in misfortune, but I was extremely desirous they should all determine to make their escape. Unfortunately they could not agree upon this measure. All the members of the Council of Five Hundred were for escaping, but those of the Council of Elders persisted in remaining. They said, it was impossible but the nation should, sooner or later, open their eyes, and, at length, grant them judges. "And "are you not already judged, condemned and "abandoned?" replied their colleagues; "make "use of an opportunity which will never again re-"turn." Willot, who knew the country from having been there in the service, strongly persisted in his opinion, and offered to be our guide. Marbois declared that he had rather submit to his fate than furnish his enemies with weapons against him. Tronçon du Coudray said positively, that he thought it his duty to his country and to his constituents, ungrateful as they were,

were, to act consistently with his character, and to wait in prison till a proper time for his justification. As to the agents of the King, they doubted not they should be liberated by some party of Royalists before they arrived at Rochefort; and the Abbé Brothier heartily pitied us Constitutionalists, because we should be very ill received, and, perhaps, cut to pieces by the Vendéens. The members of the Elders, however, prevailed, and, day appearing, we again beheld our iron cages, and the Cerberus Dutertre.

We set off, and proceeded a long time amidst this extensive forest, which might so well have afforded us an asylum, and protected our flight. The roads were so bad, and our waggons jolted so severely, that we asked in vain for permission to walk on foot in the midst of the escort; for when once we had entered the carriages, and the iron grating was locked, they were not opened again till night. Even Pichegru and myself, though still young and hardened by the fatigues of war, supported this with difficulty; but the old men, and Marbois, Barthélemy, and du

Coudray, who were ill, suffered inexpressible pain. At our arrival, our treatment was still more cruel. Every night we were exhibited as a sight to the people, and then shut up in prisons, when we were worse accommodated and fed than the vilest criminals.

That of Chatellerault, where we arrived on the 29th (15th Sept.), appeared the worst we had yet occupied. Here we were shut up in so infectious a dungeon, that several of us swooned, and we should all have been stifled, had not the door, at which sentinels were placed to watch us closely, been speedily opened. Marbois was very ill, and du Coudray, who was attending him, was sitting on the straw, when a poor wretch, who had been in close imprisonment, came to visit us in our dungeon. He hastened to bring us some fresh water, and offered his bed to Marbois, who accepted it, and was somewhat better after this repose. "Be patient, "gentlemen," said this man, "in time we ac- "custom ourselves to every thing."

On the 30th (16th Sept.), we were treated but little better at Poitiers, although some persons, whom prudence forbids me to name, exerted themselves to give us some proofs of their kindness. This was the native place of the deputy Thibaudeau, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, who, being excepted from the list of proscriptions, had the courage and generosity to demand the honour of being deported.

On the 17th Sept., we arrived at Lusignan. The prison of this little town being too small to hold all sixteen of us, Dutertre gave orders that we should pass the night in the carriages in the middle of the public square; notwithstanding the heavy rain and cold wind we had endured throughout the day. The mayor and the commandant of the national guard, who was an old man of great humanity, offered to be responsible for us, and, with great difficulty, obtained permission to lodge us in an inn. Scarcely were we housed, before we saw a courier arrive. Each of us formed his own conjectures; some suddenly conceived hopes, and all of us thought some

new event had taken place. But we soon found the object of his embassy was of little importance. It was merely an order from the Directory to the Adjutant-General Guillet, to arrest and bring his general, Dutertre, to Paris, on account of the extortions and peculations he had committed since our departure, and the 800 louis-d'ors he had received for the expences of the journey; for which he provided by requisitions from the municipalities. I confess that I received some pleasure from seeing this wretch thus punished by his masters before he had completed the mission with which they had entrusted him, and which he so well discharged. When I heard the carriage that was intended for him approach, I was desirous of seeing his countenance in my turn. My curiosity, however, had nearly cost me my life. As I opened the window, a sentinel from without, apparently in conformity to former orders from Dutertre, fired at me, and the ball broke the bar above my head.

I have already said that the arrest of Dutertre was to us an event of but little importance, because

the Adjutant-General Guillet, who succeeded him, was no better than his predecessor. Of this we had a proof the next day (the 18th Sept.) at St. Maixent, where he arrested the mayor before our eyes, because, moved with compassion at our deplorable situation, he had said to us, with great humanity: "Gentlemen, I feel much for "you, and every good citizen participates in "my sentiments." This act of violence produced such discontent and murmuring, that Guillet was obliged to set this worthy man at liberty. It was at this place the descriptions of our persons were taken. An officer of the staff called us two by two, interrogated us, and dictated the description to the *Brigand* Cordebar (the same who was condemned at Vendôme, together with Babœuf). Here he acted in the capacity of secretary to the commandant of the escort. There is no kind of insult and gross abuse that these wretches did not lavish upon us. "And thou," said one of them, "what trade or calling didst "thou follow?"—"That," returned I, "which "villains like thee have dishonoured; I am a "soldier."

As yet we had received no information relative to the fate that awaited us, or where we were going; nor did we even know of our proscription, but by listening to the criers about the Temple. Even the pretended law of the 19th Fructidor (5th Sept.) had not been officially communicated to us. On our arrival at Niort, on the 19th Sept., being extremely desirous to read the public papers, we asked for them with great earnestness. We were in the dungeon of the castle, a dark damp hole, more than 25 feet below the surface of the earth; and the municipal officer who was upon guard over us promised to send us, the next day, all the newspapers he could collect. But the ex-conventionalist, le Cointre Puiravaux, one of the vilest tools of the anarchists, and who was commissary of the government there, forbad all comunication with the deported persons, under the severest penalties. On this occasion, none of us escaped the bad effects of the dampness of our dungeon, which we quitted the next day (20th Sept.) almost unable to move, and went to sleep at Surgères, where the roads divide that lead to Rochelle and

Rochefort. Here the hurry and bustle we observed around us, the couriers that were going and coming, the extraordinary precaution of placing the sentinels within our dungeon, every thing led us to imagine we were near the end of our journey; and we hoped that at length we should be indulged with a few days repose, and receive the effects and the succours of all kinds, which our precipitate departure had prevented our bringing away with us. We even flattered ourselves that, after having rid themselves of the men whom the public esteem rendered formidable to them, the Directory, confiding in the stupor of the nation, would not act with a useless severity towards us, that could only increase the general hatred, of which they were the object. We were deceived; for honest men will ever be deceived when they attempt to speculate on the conduct of villains, or to calculate the degrees of criminality they will incur.

On the 21st September, we left Surgères at three o'clock in the morning, and by the most dreadful roads, where we were extremely bruised on

all sides for nine tedious leagues. We arrived at three in the afternoon in sight of Rochefort. But in lieu of entering the city, as we hoped, our cavalcade turned off along the glacis, and going round the city, directed its course to the port. This was a most awful moment; for we perceived but too clearly that our fate was determined, and that we were about to be separated, perhaps for ever, from every thing that can attach men to life. The most ill-omened presages now surrounded us. The garrison of Rochefort lined the hedge upon the road, and a crowd of sailors made the air re-echo with the ill-boding cry of "*To* "*the water, to the water!*" Thus we arrived on the banks of the Charente, where the innumerable workmen of the dock-yards, the soldiers of the garrison, and the sailors, ran to the water-side, and, crowding round our carriages and our escort, cried out aloud—"*Down with the ty-*"*rants; make them drink out of the large cup.*"

Such were the farewell salutations we received from our fellow-citizens, while an adjutant or commissary of marine, named la Coste, whose face,

face, which was furrowed with scars, I seemed to recollect, called over the deported persons, and received us from the commandant of the escort, Guillet.

As we came out of the carriages the commissary la Coste put us into a boat: but he found M. de Marbois in so bad a state of health, that at first he refused to take him on board, declaring that he was dying, and could not bear two days voyage. Upon this, Guillet put himself in a passion, threatened to arrest la Coste, and swore he would denounce him and have him cashiered. Accordingly, Marbois was carried into the boat, and Guillet embarked along with us.

We were now taken on board a two-masted vessel, which was moored about the middle of the river, and called the *Brilliant*, being a small privateer taken from the English. Some ill-looking soldiers rudely made us go down between decks, pushing and crowding us towards the forecastle, whilst we were stifled with the smoke of the kitchen.

We were suffering extremely from hunger and thirst; for we had neither eaten nor drank during thirty-six hours. A pail of water was let down in the midst of us, and a couple of the crew's loaves were thrown down beside it, with a gesture of the utmost contempt. We were, however, unable to eat on account of the smoke and our very uneasy situation. In the mean while, the sentinels, who pressed us more and more, held the most horrid language. Pichegru having resented the insolence of the soldier who was in the midst of us, the latter replied to the general—"Thou hadst better be silent, for thou art not "yet out of our power." This was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age.

We had reason to believe that the place of our deportation was no other than the bed of the river Charente, and that we were already on board one of those horrid instruments of execution, a vessel with a trap-door, invented to quench the thirst of tyrants for human blood, and to murder in the dark as rapidly as possible as many victims as their thoughts or their caprice could desire.

Thus we continued till night. What a dreadful night! we listened with anxious suspense, constantly expecting the fatal moment to arrive; and when the sailors began to hand the ropes, we doubted not but our last hour was come. But instead of this the Brilliant had set sail, and was going down the river. The tide, however, was against us, and at eleven o'clock at night we moored in the great road. A few moments after we had cast anchor, six of us were called up on deck. This was a dreadful moment!—I was not of the number of those who were first called, and we bid, as we thought, a final adieu to our companions. This successive calling us up, the ferocious joy of the soldiers and of the crew, the presence of Guillet, convinced us our fellow prisoners were taken from us to execution. In this cruel suspense we remained near half an hour, in silent horror and resignation.

More of us were afterwards called up in our turn, and then only four remained. Aubry, Bourdon, Dossonville, and Willot were those who experienced this last anguish, this pro-

longation of torture: till, at length, contrary to our expectation, we all met again on board a corvette, named *la Vaillante*, commanded by Captain Julien, who, as he received us on board, desired us to be patient; and assured us that while he punctually performed the orders of the Directory, he would neglect nothing to soften our afflictions. The commandant Guillet followed us on board the Vaillante, and, perceiving the impression his presence made on us, said: "Yes, "gentlemen, here I am again."

We were now ordered down between decks. "Do they intend to starve us to death?" cried the unfortunate Dossonville, who suffered more cruelly than any of us in consequence of the want of food. "No, no, gentlemen," said an officer of the corvette, laughing, (this was des Poyes, formerly an officer on board the Royal fleet) "your supper will be brought you pre-"sently."—"Do but give me some fruit," said Marbois, almost expiring. Immediately after two loaves of the crew's bread were thrown down from above board. This was all the promised

supper we received, and however frugal it was for our miserable party, who had not eaten during forty hours, we have often looked back to it with a longing recollection: for that was the last time we tasted bread!

This last removal to a vessel of war, the motions of the crew in preparing to get under sail, the reception of the captain, the humanity that appeared in his language, notwithstanding the severity of his countenance, and his firm tone in the presence of his crew, every thing concurred in convincing us, or inducing us to believe, that, at least, we were not to be speedily put to death—when, on a sudden, Captain Julien, who, a moment before, had been talking with Guillet near the edge of the hatchway, came down between decks, accompanied by some armed soldiers, and distributed hammocks to only twelve of us, whom he called to receive them. Those who had none, were Willot, Pichegru, Dossonville, and myself. We were separated from our companions by the guard that attended Captain Julien, who himself ordered us to go

down into the boatswain's store-room, saying: " As for you four gentlemen, that is to be your " lodging."

This unexpected blow seemed as much to affect our twelve companions as ourselves; nor would they consent to be separated from us; but requested to be treated with equal barbarity. Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois in particular exclaimed against this separation, and insisted strongly on our sharing the same fate. Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, seeing us dragged away by the soldiers into the store-room, ran to the hatchway and jumped down with us; upon which the captain threatened to make them go up again by means of the bayonet; but they did not yield to his menaces; they yielded only to our urgent entreaties.

Thus four of us now remained in the profoundest darkness, in that horrid dungeon, infected by the exhalations of the hold, and by the cables, without hammocks or coverings, or any thing on

which to lay our heads; though unable to hold ourselves upright.

Our twelve fellow prisoners were also extremely confined between decks, over our heads, with the hatchways shut, and, like us, entirely deprived of air, of motion, and of the necessaries of life.

The corvette set sail at four o'clock in the morning, as we perceived by the cries of the crew, and, soon after, by the motion of the waves.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22nd. of February one of the hatchways was opened, we heard the bell ring for the crew's breakfast, and a biscuit for each of us was thrown down.

Our companions now desired the captain to be called; upon which he came to the hatchway: "Deported!" said the captain, "what do you "want with me?"—"To tell you," said Marbois, "that the biscuit we have just received is a kind

" of food to which none of us are accustomed.
" Some of us are old, and cannot chew it, and
" besides, that given us is so rotten, that none of
" your crew would eat it. We desire you to in-
" form us of the orders you have received relative
" to us."—" Deported," replied the captain, " I
" have no other biscuit to order you; 'tis the food
" I am to give you. Take what is offered, and
" think yourselves happy that I do not more ri-
" gorously execute the orders I have received.
" 'Tis very singular, that, in your present situation,
" you should demand a sight of my orders. I have
" nothing to communicate."—" As I have per-
" formed several long voyages," replied Marbois,
" I must inform you, that if you keep us thus
" closely shut up, deprived of the external air,
" and without those precautions which are in-
" dispensably necessary to prevent our rendering
" that air we breathe infectious; not only you
" will kill us in a very few days, but you will have
" the plague on board your ship, and lose your
" crew."—" Well," said the captain, as he went
away, " I shall see what I can do when we have
" got out of sight of the French coast!"

At

At noon a biscuit each was again brought us, and a bucket full of gourganes or large beans boiled, and without any kind of seasoning, was set down for us. This was afterwards our daily allowance, and the only food that was given us during the whole voyage. With this, two cabin boys were appointed to serve us. He that waited on our fellow prisoners was named Aristides, and was a very handsome and a very good lad; but ours was an ill-looking, ill-disposed boy. The characters of these attendants, the only persons with whom we could communicate, was of great importance to our fate; and Aristides had a considerable share in the consolations which we very rarely experienced——the good little Aristides!

Such was our lot on board this floating tomb, which tore us from our native soil, and was carrying us to an unknown country.

Scarcely had we got out to sea before the winds became contrary, and the tempest so violent, that the captain was obliged to put into the road of Rochelle, where we cast anchor before night.

About eleven o'clock the next day (23rd Sept.) Admiral Martin came on board the corvette, notwithstanding the bad weather, bringing with him Captain la Porte, who had orders from the Directory to take the command instead of Captain Julien. This event we learnt merely by listening to the proclamation of Admiral Martin, who ordered the crew to obey their new captain.

We soon perceived, by the manner in which Captain la Porte set out, that under the command of Captain Julien we had not yet sunk to the lowest state of misery. We heard him with a harsh thundering voice, like that of a speaking trumpet, haranguing his crew as follows: "Soldiers, I order you to watch these great culprits closely; and you, sailors, I forbid you, under pain of death, to communicate, in any manner whatever, with those miscreants." He then went his rounds, and called us over; and, having examined us closely, said; "Gentlemen, you are very fortunate to have been treated with so much *clemency*."

The winds were contrary, and there was a great swell in the sea. About three o'clock the same day (23rd Sept.), a boat put off from Rochelle, and made towards the corvette with all the force of their oars. On being hailed, they answered they had some effects belonging to the deported persons: but Captain la Porte forbad them to board us, and threatened to sink them. The boat, however, was already under the stern of the Vaillante, and the son of Laffond Ladebat declared his name, supplicating for permission to see his father and give him some clothes. But the captain was inflexible to the groans of this wretched father, who, hearing the voice of his son, cried out with rage, and struggled between decks. He was equally inflexible to the tears and cries of the young man, who, full of despair, supplicated on his knees that he might be permitted, for this last time, to embrace his father. " No, no," cried la Porte; " take thyself away " immediately, or I will sink thee." He only permitted young Laffond to deliver the portmanteau he brought to the sailors, and then ordered the boat to keep off, together with this af-

fectionate son, who never afterwards beheld his father.

An hour after this heart-rending scene, the captain got under sail, notwithstanding the tempest, thus braving all the dangers of the Bay of Biscay even during the equinoctial gales, not only that we might incur this additional risk, but hoping, no doubt, that by this means we should escape the English. Thus we a second time quitted the coasts of France at five o'clock in the afternoon, on the 23rd of September. The night was very stormy, and we had nearly been lost in doubling the reefs of the Pertuis d'Antioche. The next day, however, (24th Sept.) the captain was again obliged to come to, and cast anchor nearly abreast of the mouth of the river of Bourdeaux, in the road of Blaye.

I can give no account of the nautical manœuvres of our ship, nor can I add any thing to what I have already said, of our situation during the first days of our voyage; for, notwithstanding the illness which the rolling of the ship occasioned

in most of us, we had not yet obtained permission to go upon deck, and the hatches being constantly shut on account of the bad weather, we were all in the greatest agony.

On the 25th, the winds having abated, we again got under sail. It was not, however, till four days after (on the 29th Sept.), that we were permitted to go upon deck for an hour; one half of us being called up at four o'clock, and the other half at five. During these two hours, the soldiers were under arms, and the deported were only allowed to walk in the gangway between two masts. They were prohibited from speaking; and all the crew were forbid to say any thing to them.

The detachments which had been put on board the Vaillante to guard us, chiefly consisted of marines sent home from the Islands of France and Bourbon by Messrs. de Circey, together with the commissaries of the Directory, who had been sent to those colonies to carry out the decrees which had disorganized and destroyed the French set-

tlements at the Antilles. These men had formerly been selected from among the revolutionary bands of the committee of Nantes, so famous in the annals of terror by the massacres and the drownings of the priests who were sentenced to deportation!

We heard them relate to each other their various exploits. One boasted of having, during a march, assassinated his captain in the back, and thrown him into a ditch, because he suspected him of aristocracy; another coolly enumerated how many priests he had drowned in the Loire; a third explained to his comrades, how these drownings were performed, and the grimaces of the unfortunate wretches at the moment of submersion: several of them bragged of having killed with their oars those who, after passing through the trap-door in the drowning vessels, endeavoured to save their lives by swimming; and they acknowledged that those who had sent them back from the Island of Bourbon had done well, for that otherwise they would have put that colony *à la hauteur de la révolution!*

If these monsters suspended for a moment their horrid conversations, it was to sing disgusting songs. They chose the time of our rest, to place themselves by the hatchway, and howl out their obscenities, their blasphemies, and their songs of cannibals. If we requested their indulgence, they loaded us with abuse, and immediately resumed their infernal chorusses.

On the eighth day of our voyage, when we were permitted to breathe for an hour each day, only three of us, Tronçon du Coudray, Pichegru, and la Vilheurnois, were able to avail themselves of this liberty. The rest had not strength enough to go upon deck. I was myself eight-and-twenty days without being able to go quite out of the hole we occupied! The old General Murinais made an effort to climb upon deck, but his strength failed him, and he fell from the upper deck into the hold. We immediately hastened to his assistance, and thought he was killed. In the mean while, some of the sailors slid down the rope into the hold, and assisted us to lift up this poor old man, who was unable to

move, and whose face was terribly bruised, and his white hair covered with blood.—But the ferocious captain ran to the edge of the hatchway, and called aloud: "Sailors, you know your orders, "which prohibit you from holding any commu- "nication with the deported. Come away, and "let a glass of water be given to the sick man."

Captain la Porte did not omit any species of torment that might contribute to make us sink under our calamities; and with a refinement of barbarity, would not allow us the use of steps to go upon deck; so that, being obliged to swarm a rope in the clear of the hatchways, those of the prisoners who were too weak for that exertion, and to whom the fresh air was most necessary, could not procure that indulgence.

The most ordinary, the vilest accommodations and conveniencies, the most necessary utensils were denied us; and when we asked, as a favour, for a little straw, to prevent us from being bruised by the rolling of the ship—"They are "laughing at me," said the captain; "the boards

"are

" are too soft for those rascals. I wish I could " have the place paved for them."

Our fellow prisoners represented to the captain, by the interposition of the good little Aristides, that they had no spoons, or cups, or basons to separate their portions; but the captain replied: " What occasion for spoons to eat *gour-* " *ganes* and biscuit? Have not those villains " fingers? and do they not know how to drink " out of a bucket? Besides, I will not be troubled; " they must know that, in their present situation, " all their applications are perfectly useless."

On the fourteenth day of our voyage, the want of air and of food had reduced most of us to the last extremity; and in the momentary visits which the surgeon paid us, he told us, we only suffered from the sea-sickness, and that as for the scurvy, we should find means of cure on shore, for Guiana abounded in turtles.

Pichegru was the only one of the four prisoners in the store-room who was not affected

with sea-sickness; but he suffered so much the more severely, in consequence, by hunger, and had frequent paroxysms of rage. But as he had more strength than the rest, he paid great attention to his fellow prisoners.

At seven in the morning of the 4th October, the hatches were opened to air the ship. A little more light than usual now cheered our dungeon, where we seemed struggling with death itself, and our languishing features could scarcely express our mutual adieus; when suddenly the commandant of the marine guard of the ship, the worthy Capt. Hurto, whom we had only remarked for the decency of his behaviour towards us, jumped into the hold, and, falling amidst us, hurt his leg. "Gentlemen," cried he, in great agitation, "do "not ruin me, do not ruin me: but I cannot bear "all these horrors. Here is tea and sugar; Maître "Dominique will bring you some hot water. Do "you understand me, Maître Dominique? Him "you may trust; but, for God's sake, do not ruin "me! I must keep my station, that I may support "my family, and my poor dear wife!" He could

scarcely utter these words, for his voice was almost stifled with sobs, while he exclaimed: " Oh Heavens! And 'tis I, 'tis I that am com- " pelled to execute these horrors!"

Presently after, Maître Dominique brought us some hot water and a bason. This refreshment was to us as welcome as the manna from Heaven. It not only restored us to life, but what still more reanimated us, and again opened our hearts to a ray of pleasure, was the unexpected humanity of this beneficent action: this proof that Providence had not utterly abandoned us; and that there were still some angels of consolation amidst the demons that surrounded us.

On the 7th of October, we were in sight of the coasts of Spain. Marbois remarked it, and learnt from a sailor, who had privately sold him some bread made of Indian corn, that we were abreast of St. Andero, and that some people from the coast, towards which we were making, had brought us some refreshments. He thought that, on this occasion, we ought to make one

more attempt to prevail with the captain; that this would be our last opportunity of procuring fresh provisions; and that, perhaps, his avarice might, for once, overpower his cruelty, and induce him to permit persons to go on shore to purchase for us the articles we might want. Marbois, therefore, wrote a letter, which was carried to the captain by the faithful Aristides, and which was as follows:

" Having had no notice of our embarkation
" for so long a voyage, we had no opportunity
" to make the least provision for it; you have
" not communicated the orders and instructions
" you have received relative to our treatment
" on board, and it is impossible you should have
" orders to starve us to death. We must there-
" fore conclude, the barbarities you exercise
" towards us are an abuse of your authority.
" Reflect that you may one day repent of your
" conduct; that our blood will fall upon
" your own head; and that, perhaps, to all
" France, but certainly to our families, to our
" brothers and our sons, you will have to give

" an account of the lives of men whom chance
" has placed in your hands.

" We desire, that before we leave the Spanish
" coasts and the Bay of St. Andero, you will send
" a boat ashore, to purchase, at our expence, those
" provisions which are indispensably necessary for
" us."

Captain la Porte replied: " I have no ven-
" geance to fear; I shall not send on shore; I shall
" not in any respect change the orders I have
" given; and I will have the first flogged with
" a cat-o'nine tails who importunes me with his
" remonstrances."

On the morning of the 9th October, we learnt by Aristides that we had at length doubled Cape Ortegal, and the evening of the same day, when Pichegru came down from above board, he told us we had lost sight of the coasts of Europe, and were steering to the northward with a fair wind. The corvette *la Vaillante* is a very good sailor, and made as much as 12 knots an hour

when we had a fresh breeze. And here let me observe a circumstance, which, however, is no otherwise remarkable than from its singular and unfortunate coincidence. I mean that Willot, when commandant at Bayonne, where this corvette was built, had been its godfather, and thus launched, as it were, from its cradle, that very ship on board of which he was now lingering in chains.

From the first day we were permitted to walk upon deck, we endeavoured to discover the dispositions of the crew, by observing their countenances. We already perceived, that Maître Dominique, who was first maître d'équipage, a man about 60 years of age, seemed affected whenever one of us came forth, like a spectre from the tomb; nor could he even fix his eyes upon us without evident marks of sensibility. We have often beheld him, sitting by the main-mast, shedding tears, as we walked to and fro. We learnt from Captain Hurto that it was Maître Dominique, who, when on watch in the night time, used to throw pieces of bread and

cheese below, although having lost all his teeth he deprived himself of his allowance of bread to give it to us. The first time he brought us hot water under pretence of cleaning the pump, we crowded round him to express our gratitude; and this man, whose tone was severe and even brutal to the sailors, this worthy man sunk almost senseless in our arms. "Ah, Sirs," cried he, "this "voyage will cost me my life, because I am com- "pelled to conceal my anguish."

Dominique was incessantly employed in procuring us some comfort or alleviation, though he had considerable difficulty in eluding the vigilance of the captain. It was Aristides that generally performed his commissions, and when he was not satisfied with his attention or acuteness, he beat the poor little fellow. We had the mortification to hear his cries on these occasions, and trembled lest this should betray the kindness of Dominique. In the mean while, the soldiers remarked the frequent visits of Aristides, reproached him with the care he took of us, and

beat him too: but this excellent lad said nothing, and made no complaints.

Dominique contrived sometimes to purchase bread and wine for us, for the former of which he paid 4 livres the pound, and as much per glass for the latter.

One day, he came to us sparkling with joy, and told M. de Marbois that he would provide us with a supper, desiring we would not eat the beans of our allowance. Accordingly, at midnight, he sent us the back of a roast pig together with a loaf and some wine. This was assuredly his private stock, and the last resource of the worthy Dominique.

His active humanity, however, at length betrayed his secret, and he was discovered by the captain, who, in the presence of the whole crew, called him to give an account of his conduct, and threatened him with chains and death. We heard this scene. Dominique did not belie his general

general character; he confessed all. " I regret," said he, with firmness, " that I could not offer the " Gentlemen more. I would alleviate their suf- " ferings even at the expence of my blood. Now " order me to be shot immediately. What would " you more ? Order me to be shot."

The captain remained totally silent—and Lieutenant Dubourg took the part of Dominique; the second maître d'équipage, Chœpuiset, had participated in his honourable crimes; and perhaps la Porte was not so sure of his crew as of his soldiers. Dominique had taken charge of several letters for our families which have been faithfully delivered; but Heaven has robbed us of an opportunity of expressing our gratitude to this virtuous man, or rather has itself rewarded him. He died soon after the return of the Vaillante.

Our situation sometimes awakened emotions of tenderness in the hardest hearts. One day, the aged General Murinais was sitting by one of the chace guns on which he leaned,

and while the crew were at supper he was endeavouring to chew the bad biscuit that was given us: but having lost all his teeth, he could neither bite it nor soften it. The captain, passing near him, was suddenly struck with the fine countenance of this old man, whom the sailors beheld with involuntary respect. " I perceive," said he, " you cannot chew the biscuit. I will " order you bread." But Murinais replied, with a firm and resolute voice: " No, Sir, I want " nothing of you. Do your duty. I will not ac- " cept from you any preference. I will not have " any thing in which my comrades do not partici- " pate. Leave me in peace."

About the 16th of October, as we were abreast of the Azores, the wind blowing a heavy gale, and the sea being very rough, we fell in with a Portuguese ship from the Brazil coast, to which the captain gave chace, and took her. In manning her, the corvette suffered a violent shock, while Captain la Porte and his crew were plundering the unfortunate passengers. In the mean while the worthy Maître Dominique took advantage of

the general disorder to get us some provisions, and brought us some nuts of Para and cocoa nuts.

Notwithstanding the occasional alleviations which the humanity of Captain Hurto and Maître Dominique, and the activity of Aristides procured us from time to time, we were cruelly tormented with hunger; and yet the disgust we felt for the black biscuit, which we could not break without meeting with large living worms, did not yield to our ravenous appetite. The large beans or *gourganes* were still more loathsome to us; for, whether from habitual filthiness or from intentional ill-will, they never brought us our bucket of food but we saw hairs and vermin swimming at top.

Ever since the violence of the illness, occasioned by the rolling of the ship, had ceased, the cruel famine that succeeded to it produced different effects in our wretched party. Most of us were extremely faint, weak, and almost totally exhausted; especially Tronçon du Coudray, Laf-

fond Ladebat, and Barthélemy; while, on the contrary, Marbois, Willot, and Dossonville, had paroxysms of rage, and the coarse food which they eat in too small quantities, only excited their ravenous appetite. "The Directory, no doubt," said one of our fellow prisoners, "dine better "than we do," as he looked one day at the bucket of black beans.—"Yes," replied a man who overheard us, and who never spoke to us but this once, though I dare not name him; "yes, the Directors have a better dinner; yet I "doubt whether they dine with the same tran- "quillity, or whether they would shew the same "fortitude were they in your place."

A much more remarkable circumstance occurs to my recollection, when a single word made our ferocious captain shudder. Marbois was walking on the deck, and suffered so much from hunger that he could no longer contain himself. The captain happening to pass him— "I am hungry, I am hungry," cried Marbois, with a strong but altered voice, and fixing his eyes, which sparkled with rage, on la Porte, "I

" am hungry; give me something to eat, or " throw me into the sea." Our Cerberus seemed petrified, and ordered some food to be given to Marbois.

Another time, Willot, who was devouring with his eyes every thing he saw, bought of one of the sailors a pound of hog's-lard, which he immediately swallowed, and was afterwards extremely ill.

In this condition we arrived at the tropic. But the warmth of the climate in these smooth seas only added to the activity of our stomachs. The horrors of the famine we endured will never be effaced from my memory! The unfortunate Dossonville uttered such cries of rage, that we were afraid he would bite us. The crew having caught a large shark, the captain ordered the staff portion, that is, the worst, to be given to us.

The oiliness, the unwholesomeness, and the hardness of digestion of this animal's flesh, is well known; but we were so famished, we could

have devoured the whole shark. Dominique sent us word to refuse this allowance, and at night conveyed us the best part of the shark, well seasoned with onions, pimento, and plenty of vinegar: Dossonville alone eat, for his share, six pounds of it with the most alarming voraciousness; in consequence of which, he was soon after at death's door.

We sometimes obtained these alleviations by other hands besides the generous Dominique; but in these cases we were sure to pay a very high price for them: for our sufferings were increased with a view to plunder us: thus Dossonville gave a very good blue surtout, which was quite new, for a loaf of three pounds weight.

About this time the impatience of Pichegru furnished Captain la Porte with a pretext to add to the vexations he inflicted on the four prisoners of the store-room. The cabin boy who waited on us, persisted, notwithstanding our prayers and menaces, in always bringing us our bucket of beans so filthy that we could not touch them.

One day, Pichegru, who was tormented with hunger, waited with impatience even for this coarse food, and when the boy brought the bucket, which was almost covered with hairs, pushed him. The boy fell into the bucket, and, being burned, cried aloud and called for help. Pichegru accused himself of the fact; but we would not allow that he alone was culpable, and the captain ordered us all four to be put in irons, and even, during the two first days, with both feet. In this condition we suffered very severely. We had now been in chains during six days, nor did the captain seem at all disposed to relieve us from them, when fear, the only motive that can operate on the wicked, compelled him to that measure.

Ever since the capture of the Portuguese ship, the crew had been discontented with the unfairness of the captain in dividing the booty. Some of the sailors complained aloud, and compassion for our fate was combined with their murmurs. We were placed among them on the forecastle, and they had before their eyes generals loaded with

irons: Pichegru in particular attracted their attention, and increased the concern they felt. On the seventh day, the captain again sent us down into the store-room. This was certainly at that time a very necessary measure, for he had not a moment to lose.

A few days after, the Vaillante took another prize, an English ship bound from London to Antigua. On this occasion Captain la Porte seemed desirous of accommodating matters with his crew; for he permitted, and even himself gave an example of the most insatiable plunder; and an English colonel, a passenger on board this vessel, having demanded his portmanteau to be restored to him, was put into the store-room with us for several days.

After having passed the tropic, a Swedish vessel bound for St. Bartholomew took to flight before the Vaillante, and we could not join her till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the worthy Lieutenant Dubourg, the man whom we had observed to be affected at our wretched condition,

tion, was ordered to visit the ship. When he returned, he assured the captain, that her documents were perfectly regular. He added, " It is the same ship that lay near us in the road of Blaye, when we moored there, and has a great number of French West India planters on board, whom the law of the 19th Fructidor has obliged to quit France."—" And do you call this ship regular ?" cried la Porte, in a rage. " A Royalist could not say more."—" Go," said he, to another officer, " visit the ship again, and if there be any person on board who is condemned to deportation, it will be a lawful prize." Fortunately there were none of them on board ; but it will scarcely be believed, that, in order to be certain of this, by comparing the muster-role with the proscription-lists, this wretch asked us to lend him the Bulletin of the Laws, in which that sanguinary decree was detailed at full length, together with our pretended condemnation, and the fatal lists.

We had now been forty days at sea, and by the reckoning we were very near North Cape,

although we had as yet observed no change in the colour of the water. Being quite becalmed, and the excessive heat completely overpowering us, Aubry, almost destitute of life, was groaning and complaining in a low voice, and, after enumerating our various miseries, " Alas !" cried he, " why has he not thrown us into the sea ?"—" You are perfectly at liberty to do so," said the captain, who, though unknown to us, was near, " and you will give me pleasure. I will order a ladder, to assist you to get upon deck."

At length, on the 50th morning, at day-break, we heard a cry of " *Land ! Land !*" which seemed to reanimate us with a sensation of new life. This was the first ray of hope that had dawned upon us since the 4th September, the day of our arrestation. Our executioner had even made us ardently desire the land of banishment.

When we went upon deck, we perceived the continent, and a land which was higher than the rest of the coast, and which was thought to be North Cape, though as yet an undistinguished

mass. This confused appearance was, however, sufficient to satisfy our impatience, and our imaginations already penetrated the forests before us; and, presenting to our minds the idea of an asylum, drew a picture of our retreat, which it even adorned with the sweets of peace and comfort. "At length," we said, "we shall "escape from the presence of our tyrants; we "shall range at liberty over a land where we "shall find some consolation in our misery, "and, perhaps, some new friends. Our perse- "cutors will be satisfied with having placed the "ocean between them and us; they will think "themselves safe and sufficiently revenged by "our forlorn and deserted condition, and the "profound oblivion that awaits us."

To quit the Vaillante, to eat our fill, and to drink fresh water, now seemed to us the supreme good, for we were in an agony of hunger and thirst. Marbois, who had formerly been intendant of St. Domingo, and was perfectly acquainted with the productions of that country, talked of nothing but the delicious fruits we were about

to taste, and supported our expiring frames by these sweet illusions; illusions which the land breezes seemed to realize, by wafting even to our blunted senses, the perfumes of lemon trees and pine-apples.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th October, the Vaillante moored in the great road of Cayenne, in sight of the town, which was distant from us about three leagues. From this time we had permission to walk upon deck at all hours, but the captain again renewed his prohibition to the crew, to hold any conversation with us. He immediately communicated our arrival to Jeannet, the agent of the Directory, who discharged the functions of the former office of governor of Cayenne.

In the forenoon of the 11th, a schooner commanded by a trading captain, Desperoux, came to carry us on shore. La Porte was much surprised the agent-general had not ordered him to land us himself; and the orders he at the same time received to remain at his moorings, without

coming any nearer the island of Cayenne, and his prohibition to hold any communication with the land, or to suffer any of his crew to quit the ship under pain of death, gave him great uneasiness. He said, he would not deliver us up to any officer but the agent himself; and we afterwards learnt from Maître Dominique, that suspecting Jeannet to be already too well informed of the recent events, he was on the point of weighing anchor and sailing for Guadaloupe, to consign us to the celebrated Victor Hugues, that tyrant of the Caribbee Islands.

The order, however, was positive, and he was forced to relinquish his prey. He caused us to be escorted by a detachment of his marines, who were to accompany us to the shore, and then take leave of us. As we went on board the vessel that was to convey us thither, we received at once the last frowns of this enraged tiger, and the blessings of Dominique, expressed by the tears that trickled down his cheeks.

The vessel moored at a cannon shot from the

land, whither we went in some shallops that came to meet us. We disembarked with great difficulty on a rocky shore, where the sea, which had a great swell, broke with violence opposite the hospital, which is a very fine edifice built on the edge of the sea at the northermost extremity of the Savannah.

A great crowd of people came out to meet us, among whom were all the magistrates and the chief inhabitants of Cayenne. We could easily perceive by the impression we made on them, that it was not curiosity alone that brought them out. The commandant of the troops, Desvieux, received us with a guard of negroes in very good order, and conducted us to the hospital, behaving to us, at least, with politeness. He permitted the principal inhabitants, who crowded round us, to give us their arms, and we felt that we were again among human beings and among Frenchmen. At the hospital we found the agent of the Directory, Jeannet, with his secretary Mauduit, and as soon as we were called

over, he gave Captain Hurto a receipt for 16 deported persons.

As Jeannet received us in the upper gallery of the hospital, he could not help letting some tears escape him. " Gentlemen," said he, " you " must have suffered severely : 'tis easy to per- " ceive it ; I have ordered an apartment to be " prepared for you, which, however confined it " may appear, is the best I can offer you at pre- " sent : but it is in the most healthy situation, " and that which is the most adapted to your " rank. You are under the care of the respectable " sisters of the charity, who will not suffer you " to want for any thing, and I shall myself see " that you are provided with food and refresh- " ments. Rely upon it, that as far as I can act " from myself, you shall have reason to be sa- " tisfied with your treatment."

He withdrew without giving any orders or instructions that could at all constrain us, and without even desiring us not to go into the town.

So sudden a change in our situation, the compassionate attentions of these worthy sisters, and the fresh provisions and fruits we eat, restored us once more to life, and we doubted not that as soon as we should have recovered our health, we should, as far as the words of the law of the 19th Fructidor would permit, be left entire masters of our persons and of our liberty. We were confirmed in this opinion by the character of the lying reports we had read, and in which the triumphant minority of both Councils endeavoured to conceal from their subjugated colleagues, the injustice and barbarity of a proscription *en masse*, by representing it as a mere banishment. I even heard several of our companions, and especially Laffond, regret that they had not their wives and children with them, that they might voluntarily settle in this colony, since it seemed to enjoy that tranquillity which had been so long banished from the mother country.

But these conciliatory dreams of happiness were, alas! soon dispelled. The next day the com-

commandant, Jeannet, effaced by a total change of conduct, the momentary effect of his transient humanity:—a change, the cruelty and criminality of which was increased by the delusive hopes he had awakened beyond the mere renewal of our torments.

This part of our unfortunate history would be equally unintelligible to the reader, as was the conduct of Jeannet to ourselves, were I not here to relate the causes of this change, which we afterwards learnt from credible witnesses, whose benevolence and courage were unable to meliorate our lot, and whose names it is my duty to conceal as well as the various benefits conferred on us, though both are equally engraved upon my heart.

And here I will first endeavour to describe the person of this strange proconsul. Jeannet is a nephew of Danton, of about 40 years of age. His external appearance is agreeable, his manners polite, and his countenance intelligent and ani-

mated. He is lame in one arm, but otherwise very well made.

Jeannet belonged to the formidable faction which oppressed the Legislative Body in 1792, overturned the throne, and together with the executive power, destroyed the monarchical constitution. I do not give credit to the accounts of those, whom I have heard accuse Jeannet of being an accomplice with the greatest criminals, merely in order to blacken his past life. I only believe, that he served the faction of his uncle in order that the latter might be able to reward him. He was appointed governor of Cayenne soon after the meeting of the Convention.

The flourishing state of the colony, and the good order he has maintained there, are sufficient proofs of his abilities. His administration has always been firm, and his conduct towards the planters just, though he kept them in a state of dependance; and the inhabitants confess, that through the terror of the negroes, whom he kept in subjection, while at the same time he acquired

their love, they were indebted to him for the preservation of their property.

When Danton was accused by his rival, and together with his party fell beneath the tyranny of Robespierre, Jeannet having refused to proclaim the liberty of the negroes, was obliged to leave the colony and retire to the United States.

On his return to France, after the 9th Thermidor, he was reinstated in his office, shortly after the installation of the Directory. The planters received him with joy, and he justified their confidence by repressing the terrorists. The conventionalists Billaud de Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who had been deported to Cayenne, were then enjoying their liberty there, and instead of expiating their crimes, meditated new ones, under the auspices of a commandant who was worthy of acting under such leaders. The unexpected return, however, of Jeannet, prevented the conspiracy from bursting forth, which had originated with the negroes, and was directed by Collot

d'Herbois, for the massacre of all the whites. A negro woman who discovered this plot, came and revealed it; upon which Jeannet arrested and sent to the fort of Sinamary, Collot d'Herbois and his colleague Billaud de Varennes, though it is said the latter was not one of the conspirators. He could not however prevent the rebellion of the negroes, nor was it repressed till after a great carnage of them had taken place. Collot d'Herbois having fallen ill soon after, was carried to the hospital of Cayenne where he died. Billaud de Varennes is still at Sinamary.

These circumstances show that Jeannet, who was connected with the party of the 9th Thermidor, was strongly adverse to the anarchists. Hence adopting that line of conduct, which his friends ought to have pursued in France, he connected himself with all the good citizens by that common interest, which arose from supporting the new laws. Thus he protected property, and, notwithstanding the complete execution of the decrees for the liberty of

the negroes, he was able to keep them to their work.

The care which he took to make property respected is not, however, wholly free from interested motives: for he is accused of rapacity; he raises arbitrary impositions, of which he renders no account; he indiscriminately seizes all vessels that come into his hands, whether those of allies, of neutral powers, or of enemies; he confiscates like a corsair, and shares the booty like a robber; he has appropriated to himself, as national domains, the possession of the finest estates that have been confiscated or sequestrated. He pays particular attention to the cultivation of the estate of General la Fayette, called *la Gabrielle*, which is said to have brought him in 300,000 livres; and the plantation of the Jesuits, the Royal plantation, and that of Beauregard, swell the revenue of this satrap.

Having obtained these advantages, and possessing these qualifications, when Jeannet saw the republican government acquire solidity, he

was far from believing a new system of terror would take place. The news of the events of the 18th Fructidor, which he had learnt before our arrival by an American ship on which he laid an embargo, and the names of the principal actors, Augereau, Sotin, &c. alarmed him so much that he was a second time on the point of quitting the colony. The term of his appointment being expired, he doubted not but some friend of Billaud de Varennes would arrive to succeed him, and he imagined he saw the manes of the execrable Collot rise before him: but the inhabitants urged him to stay and wait for further information.

The account which Lieutenant Dubourg must have given at the time of our arrival, the picture of the evils we had suffered, which, no doubt, his humanity induced him to represent to Jeannet, apparently confirmed his first impressions, and procured us the good reception we met with at the hospital.

Captain la Porte, however, enraged at the insulting precautions of the agent of the govern-

ment, which were more galling to him, as he knew he enjoyed the confidence of the Directory, did not give up the contest, but wrote to Jeannet, insisting on seeing him, in order personally to deliver the letters and instructions of which he was the bearer. Jeannet, deceived by the revolutionists, by whom he was surrounded, as, for instance, his secretary, Mauduit, and the port-captain, Malvin, could not refuse this request. He therefore permitted Captain la Porte to come on shore, and invited him to dinner.

We saw him arrive, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in his long-boat, and shuddered at the sight.

As it was in consequence of this dinner party that our ruin was determined, the account we heard of it deserves some attention.

While Jeannet read his dispatches, la Porte added to the text the most perfidious comments; in which he was supported by other counsellors still more perfidious than himself. " These

" villains," said he, " whom I have brought hither, " had already lighted up a civil war in France, " where they massacred the republicans with im- " punity." We were all sold, he said, to the Princes; we were all for proclaiming a King; we were still in hopes of reviving the party. We had contrived means of carrying on intelligence at Cayenne; we had still those of effecting a revolution in favour of Louis XVIII, and the Directory had information of the fact.

These calumnies silenced the worthy magistrates who were present, and emboldened the revolutionists who did not wait till the agent-general had expressed his sentiments, to break out against us.

Jeannet, however, still kept, as it were, on the defensive, and seemed to capitulate with his conscience. He perused the list of the deported, and, fixing his eye on the conventionalists, against whom, perhaps, he felt an old party rancour, said: " I see but a small number of culprits. " The more I read and reflect on my dispatches,

" the

" the less am I able to understand them." He twice interrupted the declamations of la Porte, to speak of the dreadful state in which we were. " Is it not true, captain," said he, " that these " gentlemen have suffered severely?"—" Yes," replied la Porte, insolently, " yes, they have suf- " fered; and had I executed my orders, I should " not have brought one of them alive."

The next day (the 18th November), we were forbid to go out of our rooms, and were closely watched. No pretext whatever, no wants we experienced, could for a moment save us from this importunate vigilance. From that time, the inhabitants were forbid to hold any communication with us. Some of them, however, braved the danger of violating these rigorous orders, and others conveyed us some refreshments.

A Mulatto woman, of about forty years of age, named Marie Rose, who was very rich, and much respected by all the colony, on account of her piety and humanity, which she was ever actively exerting, particularly distinguished herself by

her assiduity in sending and even bringing every thing she knew we wanted, or which she imagined would be agreeable to us. She was so often with the good sisters of the charity, that the prohibition of communicating with us could not reach her. The hospital, indeed, was, as it were, the favourite habitation of Marie Rose, and her visits there were more frequent in proportion as our condition became more miserable. This lively concern, which she took in our fate, never abated. It was to Pichegru she always delivered her little presents; and the General never failed to divide them with his companions in misfortune, who participated in the gratitude due to this excellent woman.

Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, and Murinais, asked for permission to walk out; in consequence of which we were allowed that liberty for an hour, morning and evening, attended by a guard, on the Savannah, as far as the walls of the town. Desvieux himself superintended this duty. This man had used abusive language to Marie Rose, and would have shot two serjeants of the regi-

ment of Alsace, because Marbois having addressed them in German, they had entered into conversation with him: nor would the lives of these two poor fellows have been saved, without the solicitations of a great number of the inhabitants. Desvieux made Jeannet himself tremble, and considered the concern, which the sisters of the charity took in our fate, during the short space of time we were among them, as an unpardonable crime. "Your deported men," said he, with emphasis, to the governess, "are *lost*; "they are lost, I say; and if they do not go off "soon of themselves, we shall find means to dis- "patch them." This Desvieux is an old captain of cavalry, who was formerly aide-de-camp to M. de Boufflers, and is said to belong to an old family, whose profession was that of the bar.

Thus passed the few first days that followed our landing; and, notwithstanding these new rigours, we still entertained hopes that the law would be executed, and that we should be left at peace within the limits of our banishment. But our fate was not yet decided. The inhabitants asked

for permission to receive us at their houses; but Jeannet answered, that he could not separate us, nor incur the risk of disturbing the tranquillity of the colony. At first, it is said, he determined to place us at the old plantation of the Jesuits.

At this the terrorists made an outcry, and demanded the same favour for Billaud de Varennes, and reproached Jeannet with keeping him in prison notwithstanding the orders of the Directory, which declared that he should be at liberty to go at large throughout the territory of the colony.

This weak and cowardly proconsul yielded to their remonstrances, and, with the same hand which we had seen, a few days before, wiping away the tears of compassion, signed the barbarous order for our second deportation.

In the morning of the 18th November, we received notice to be in readiness to go to the canton of Sinamary.

Our members of the Council of Elders proposed to protest against this extension of a law which was in itself a violation of all laws: but those of the Council of Five Hundred thought this would be in some measure to acknowledge the legality of the act of proscription, and that of the agents employed in its execution. They preferred yielding a passive obedience, and I was myself of this opinion. To this Jeannet only answered in the negative, by the intervention of a commissary of the navy. He never replied directly to any of the deported, and he forbad the furnishing us with copies of the letters and orders he ordered to be communicated to us.

Those of our number who were most indisposed, and seemed unable to bear the fatigues of deportation, remonstrated in vain, and the old General Murinais, not being able to obtain permission to remain at the hospital, was quite in despair. He therefore determined to write separately to Jeannet. "Order an account to be "given you," said he, "of the state I am in. Your "order is to me a death warrant." But Jeannet

was deaf to the prayers of all the inhabitants, and insensible to the tears of the good sisters of the hospital. In short, we were compelled to go.

We now took leave of the worthy Captain Hurto, who had also pleaded our cause to the utmost of his power, and of Maître Dominique, who passed two days with us, during which he gave us new proofs of his generous attachment.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d November we were embarked on board the schooner the Victory, some shallops taking us on board at the same spot where we had landed when we quitted the Vaillante. It was determined to avoid taking us through the town, but all the inhabitants ran in crowds to the banks, and gave us the most affecting proofs of their sensibility. The women and children were in tears, and it is impossible to describe this heart-rending scene. We had no friends, and were surrounded by these worthy inhabitants, being only attended by the commandant Desvieux, who, in the presence

of this oppressed people, feigned an extreme politeness towards us. Jeannet did not appear.

When the schooner weighed anchor, our regret at being thus torn away from these soothing consolations, the sight of the crowd upon the shore extending their hands towards us, or raising them towards Heaven, their cries, and their parting adieus, almost broke our hearts.

The worthy Captain Bracket, who commanded the schooner, did his utmost to alleviate the pain of this separation, and lavished on us every attention and the refreshments he had provided. He appeared so anxious to serve us, that I doubt not, had we proposed to him to rescue us, he would have done it; for we had no other guard than three men and a captain, and the ship was only navigated by four sailors and a boatswain, who, in all probability, would not have opposed him. We were sixteen in number, and the cabin, in which we were, was full of arms, that lay spread about. This idea did not then strike any of us, and we were all resigned to our fate. We had

also been flattered with an assurance that if the canton of Sinamary was not the most populous, it was at least the most healthy, and one of the most fertile parts of the colony. We were taught to expect we should there find an abundance of provisions, and that we should at length enjoy our liberty.

The river of Sinamary is 30 leagues to the eastward of the island of Cayenne, and the winds and the currents were both in our favour. We had weighed anchor at noon, and we moored about eight o'clock in the evening at the mouth of the river, after having doubled *les Isles au Diable.* Captain Bracket would have moored nearer the shore, in order that we might land before night; but, as the posts were not apprized of our voyage, the battery on the east point fired at us with ball, and therefore we were obliged to stay all night on board.

At day-break, on the 23rd November, we landed under the redoubt of the point. The commandant of the canton, M. de ***, captain of the regiment

regiment of Alsace, was on the beach to receive us. " Here," said the commandant of our escort, " are the persons condemned to deporta-" tion; and here is the provisory order of the " agent-general respecting them."—" The con-" demned!" replied the officer, " these gentlemen " have not been tried. 'Tis infamous to send them " hither." This speech, and the honest emphasis with which he uttered it, caused this officer to be shortly after cashiered and expelled from the colony. I hope, however, this unjust action may have saved his life; for he is a young man, and his health was already impaired by the climate.

About an hundred paces from the sea-side, leaving the redoubt and the signal mast to the right, we came in front of Mr. Kormann's house, which is a crazy insulated hut, where it could scarcely be conceived any man would voluntarily reside: this was the only habitation we could perceive in this vast desert, and was situated on the banks of the Sinamary, which are covered with wood, and obstructed with branches of trees

and shrubs rotting in the mud, and infecting the air with noxious exhalations.

As we stopped before this hut to ask for fresh water, M. Kormann, who was a man of about thirty years of age, but apparently more broken than Europeans generally are at sixty, came to salute us, and said, with a feeble voice, " Ah, " gentlemen, you are come into a tomb !"—" We " know it," replied General Murinais, " and the " sooner the better." Such were the omens that attended our arrival on the continent of South America !

We walked on a burning soil, and pursued a narrow path on the bank of the river, a league up the country. I had great difficulty in dragging myself along after my companions, who were all overpowered with fatigue. None of us had yet recovered the fatigues of our voyage sufficiently to bear those of this long journey, and I had spit blood during several days.

At length we arrived before the fort of Sina-

mary, which did not become visible till we were within musket shot of it.

This fort is built of planks, and pallisadoed; but has no outworks. It is a square building, each side being about 100 toises (200 yards), is flanked by four bastions, and surrounded by a large fosse, filled with water from the river; so that the fort was completely insulated.

As we entered it, we too clearly perceived that no hope remained of enjoying, even in these deserts, the least shadow of liberty. That loss was here consummated.

It now remains for me to pourtray the refinement of cruelty with which, even in this prison, our persecutors harrassed the miserable remnant of our existence; the insatiable rage of our executioners; the patience and constancy of their victims; the agonies of those of our companions who died in our arms; of those who are still struggling with a less rapid, though not a

less inevitable fate: and, lastly, to relate the miracle of our escape.

However small was the theatre on which these horrid scenes passed, I must begin by describing it.

The barracks for the garrison, the apartments of the commandant, and a few huts for the settlers, occupy the curtain to the right which looks to the river. The garrison consisted of eighty men, half whites, half blacks; being a detachment of the old regiment of Alsace, which had been almost entirely renewed since its arrival in Guyana.

The curtain on the opposite side is the old chapel, which the white revolutionists devastated but which the negroes still respect.

By this chapel is a corridor, under which are built eight miserable rooms, formerly used as prisons for fugitive negroes and criminals.

Opposite the entrance of the fort is the apartment of the keeper of the stores. The platforms of the bastions are occupied by magazines of provisions and of ammunition; and one of the four (that looking to the northward, and near the river) is the guard-house. The remaining space, in the middle of the fort, is planted with orange trees. The fort is provided with arms, and well kept up.

At first, the commandant conducted us to the corridor, and, shewing us the rooms, said to us: "There are the lodgings appointed for you." Billaud de Varennes occupied one of these rooms; the other seven were to be divided between the sixteen deported persons, and, according to this unequal proportion, to receive a larger or a smaller number.

The commandant, addressing himself to M. de Murinais, as the eldest of us, pointed to one of the rooms which was to contain only one prisoner, and said: "This room will do for you."— "Lead me," replied the old general, "to that

" which is nearest to the cemetery; for that will " suit me best."

After having obliged our worthy general to go into this first room alone, the others were divided between the remaining fifteen. Fortune separated us as follows:

2nd—Aubry, alone.

3rd—Pichegru and Marbois.

4th—Willot, la Rue, and Dossonville.

5th—Bourdon and Rovère.

6th—Laffond, Tronçon du Coudray, and Barthélemy.

7th—Brothier, la Vilheurnois, le Tellier, and Ramel.

The commandant ordered a hammock for each of us; for these dungeons contained neither bed, table, nor chair, nor any one piece of furniture or utensil.

Our only food was an allowance of biscuit, a pound of salt meat, and a glass of rum, to cor-

rect the extreme bad quality of the water. Sometimes we had bread that we could not eat, because it was full of worms and ants, and some portions of wine that had grown sour in the magazines.

As we could not eat altogether, nor in one of the rooms, nor out of one bowl, we divided into messes. It was not, however, by chance that these parties were determined, but the coincidence of our ages and opinions.

1st mess—Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, Barthélemy, Laffond, Murinais, le Tellier.

2nd mess—Pichegru, Willot, la Rue, Aubry, and Dossonville, Ramel.

3rd mess—Bourdon, Rovère.

4th mess—Brothier, la Vilheurnois.

This arrangement, however, was soon disturbed by the most melancholy events: Marbois was desirous of having his mess separate; Barthélemy and le Tellier joined in the mess to which I belonged; and the Abbé Brothier joined with Billaud de Varennes.

These associations having had some influence on our happiness, I could not avoid taking notice of their formation.

One negro alone prepared the soup for all four messes. Every one attended to it, and fetched away his share. This execrable cook had been sent from Cayenne, where he had been taken on purpose from the house of correction. He threatened twenty times to poison us.

Those of us who were sick were attended by two old negro women; a third, whose husband was in the fort, and whom the worthy Marie Rose had sent as a person in whose goodness she could rely, waited on General Pichegru. I have read with the utmost indignation the calumnies that have been spread abroad, to deprive us of the concern which humanity naturally feels for misfortune, and the respect due to innocence, when it has not fallen from its dignity. Let our persecutors, at least, leave us the enjoyment of this consolation!

In the fort we were prisoners; I never quitted it but once, and that, as I hope, never to re-enter it. We were called out twice every day, first at nine in the morning, and again at four in the afternoon.

Our first occupation was to clean out our rooms, which were full of venomous insects, that rendered them uninhabitable, although we had no other shelter. No European, perhaps, had ever before been thrown into such a den, in such a climate, there to be given as a prey to scorpions, millepedes, gnats, mosquitos, and many other species of insects, equally numerous, dangerous, and disgusting! We were not even secure from the serpents that frequently crept into the fort. Pichegru found one of uncommon size, which he killed; it was thicker than his arm, and lay concealed in the folds of his cloak, which served him for a pillow to his hammock.

The insect that tormented us most severely was the chica, or niguas, a species of bug, which enters the pores of the skin, and, if it is not care-

fully removed, breeds there, and destroys the flesh so rapidly, as to render amputation necessary. We were covered with pimples and pustules, which deprived us of sleep, overwhelmed us with fatigue, and plunged us in the deepest dejection. Some of us had received, during our journey from the Temple to Rochefort, clothes, linen and money; but others, and myself among the number, were totally destitute; our precipitate embarkation having disappointed the vigilance of our families. Jeannet sent us some shirts and handkerchiefs, taken from the magazines from which the negroes are supplied.

Such was our situation at Sinamary! In the fort there were no other inhabitants than the garrison and a store-keeper named Moigestein, a very good kind of man, who would have served us had it been in his power. The black soldiers of the garrison seemed more civil, or, rather, were less harsh towards us than the whites, who were a remnant of the regiment of Alsace, that preserved their old discipline, but who were kept in a state of servile fear. The surgeon of the

canton of Sinamary, whose name is Cabrol, is a man full of humanity, but very infirm, and could rarely come out to visit the sick. We sometimes saw the mayor of the canton, Vogel, formerly a gentleman of Lorraine, who made us ineffectual offers of service.

These were the extent of our communications with mankind: for I take no account of Billaud de Varennes, with whom our jailors endeavoured to assimilate us. This consideration, indeed, only made us regard him with the more disgust. It is true, we avoided humiliating him or aggravating his misfortunes; but the Abbé Brothier alone was able to overcome the horror of this monstrous association, and formed an acquaintance with Billaud de Varennes.

I shall not attempt to speak of the country round the fort, and which is properly called the canton of Sinamary. I have often heard of several considerable Indian villages, which are said to be situated some leagues inland, and the inhabitants of which sometimes come to sell fruits and

vegetables. The plantations, that are situated higher up the river, and would together form a kind of hamlet, are said to be in a fertile tract; yet the unwholesomeness of the climate has reduced the Frenchmen, who established themselves there in the last century, to a very small number. This is all I know on the subject; and all I saw from the ramparts of our prison was a vast, and apparently impenetrable forest. The mournful howlings of tigers that came within musket shot of the fort, the shrill and piercing screams of monkies, the discordant notes of parrots, and the croaking of venomous toads, of which the fosses and the muddy banks of the river were full, rendered this scene a wilderness of horror.

The fifth day after our arrival, Lieutenant Aimé relieved M. de ***, and took the command of the fort: a change which proved a great misfortune to our party.

At the beginning of the revolution this Aimé was a lackey in a family at Nancy, where he be-

came one of the principal ringleaders of the disturbances that desolated that city, and of the revolt of the King's regiment and that of Châteauvieux, which the national guards repressed. He then inlisted in the regiment of Alsace, in which he rose to the rank of an officer. Jeannet could not have selected a more barbarous jailor.

Aimé immediately gave new orders, and daily invented additional restraints. He prohibited the soldiers from speaking to us under pain of death, and ordered the alarm to be beat every morning before our dungeons: nor could we ever obtain the reversion of this cruel order, which was a dreadful torment to the sick among us. It seemed as if he regretted that sleep should sometimes procure us a momentary suspension of our misfortunes. The drummer, or rather, the vulture, he selected for this purpose, added insult to injury. He hollowed aloud and burst into a laugh, whenever we asked him to take pity on the anguish of our sick friends. The most temperate among us were frequently obliged to restrain the most violent, who were for throwing

this wretch into the fosse. Our musters also were performed with the greatest rigour, and, if any of us had not been found in his room, he would have been put in irons.

A few days after the arrival of the new commandant, M. de Murinais was taken ill. This was in the beginning of December, and I believe, on the second or third day of the month. He became insensible almost at the very moment when he was attacked; we were unable to afford him any relief, and before the express, which was sent to Cayenne to inform Jeannet of his situation, arrived there, our unfortunate friend was no more. Till the last moment of his life this worthy veteran gave us an example of fortitude and resignation. A total stranger to the intrigues in which it was pretended he was implicated, in order to have a more illustrious or a purer victim to immolate, he never complained of his fate, of his separation from a numerous family, or of the loss of his large fortune: he only felt indignant that his word, or the fidelity with which he was resolved to discharge the duty

confided to him should be doubted. What a dreadful scene was this first separation! I was myself almost in a dying state, and it was already the opinion of my fellow prisoners, that the youngest of us would follow the oldest. I collected all my strength, however, and crawled to the general's room, where I found him suspended in his hammock. At this time, no one was near him. He lay extended with his mouth open and parched, and I endeavoured to give him drink; but he was struggling with death and expired a few moments after. What a forlorn and deserted situation for a father of a family in the last moments of his life!

M. de Murinais was buried without the fort. We made some pious preparations for his funeral, and, I must confess, I derived new strength from the exertions to which this miserable scene gave birth.

The effects of M. de Murinais were put under seal, and publicly sold in the fort. On this occasion, the justice of the peace having read the

title of *Citizen* in the preamble, which he read in the presence of the commandant—" erase " that title," said Aimé; " those rascals do not " deserve it."

Within a week after the death of M. de Murinais, Barthélemy was taken ill, and apparently in an equally serious manner. Fortunately, however, there was time to send to Cayenne, to inform Jeannet, who sent a schooner to convey him to the hospital. We took a final leave of him, for we did not expect ever to see him more. His faithful le Tellier obtained permission to accompany him.

Notwithstanding the certainty that we were now buried alive, notwithstanding the fatal presages that surrounded us, each of us fortified his mind with resolution and nerved himself against the hard law of necessity. Political discussions and individual conversations filled up much of our time, and our common misfortunes were inexhaustible sources of reflection and communication.

cation. God forbid I should here relate all the disputes of which I was witness! When men, whose opinions, professions, talents and interests, were as different as their ages and their passions, are thus reduced to the tedious monotony of unvarying misery, their relative situation produces a constantly changing picture, which, however interesting and instructive, I shall not here attempt to pourtray. Notwithstanding the confusion which the leaders of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor were induced to excite, in order to create motives and pretexts of vengeance, the various parts certain members took in the events which preceded that catastrophe are well known; and not even in the passive inactivity of common adversity can those minds harmonize, whose judgments and views have been so discordant when in action. I shall therefore confine myself to saying, that each of us contrived occupations for himself, or sought for amusements according to his own various habits and inclinations.

Marbois, the serenity of whose mind seemed to proportion itself without exertion to the mul-

tiplicity of our misfortunes, exhibited so much calmness and equanimity, that those who were not well acquainted with him, those who had not heard him pronounce the words *dear Sophia* to his wife, might have imagined he was destitute of sensibility. He knew how to employ the unwelcome leisure of imprisonment, and vary his pursuits, better than any of us, and having caused books to be purchased for him he read a great deal. He also worked with his hands, and that always for some useful or agreeable purpose for our unfortunate community; he formed, and that with great neatness, the furniture and utensils he most needed, and even contrived to make a violin, with which he set the negroes, who were very fond of him, to dance. One of them, who had been at St. Domingo during his administration, had talked much of him to his comrades, and they all highly respected him. Marbois also undertook to clear the orange tree walks, which were very much encumbered with obstructions. In this work he induced the negroes to assist, and thus rendered the only walk we had agreeable.

Tronçon du Coudray, with equal fortitude to that of his friend, supported, like the rest of us, our present evils without complaint, and contemplated the vile instruments of our misfortunes with contempt. But he could neither preserve the calmness of his mind, nor be master of himself, nor keep silence relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor. That audacious tissue of crimes, and the impunity that attended them, still irritated his temper as much as the first day of his fall; and he was still more enraged at the injustice which the Directory had exercised with such unparallelled effrontery, even taking things on their own grounds. He demanded his accusation, and asked for judges even of the echoes of Sinamary. He wrote memorials, and applied with so much assiduity, that he did not take any relaxation, and his health was impaired by his constant study. He wrote a funeral eulogium on his colleague, General Murinais, and assembled us to hear him pronounce it. This he did with the same solemnity and graceful eloquence that he displayed at the tribune of the Council of Elders, and all the soldiers of the garrison, all the negroes came

to hear him. He took for his text: *Super flumina Babylonis, illic cedimus et flevimus, donec recordamur Sion.*—" By the rivers of Babylon, there we " sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered " Sion." His affecting eloquence, his full and harmonious voice, the animated picture he drew of the miseries of our native country, the brilliant glory with which he emblazoned the courage, the loyalty, the innocence, and the virtue, of the deceased veteran, called forth tears from all our eyes, and the soldiers and negroes, who soon began to be affected, were, at length, so powerfully agitated that the fort re-echoed with their lamentations. In consequence of this incident, Jeannet caused notice to be given, that whosoever should endeavour by his discourse to excite the pity of the soldiers or the negroes for the fate of the deported, should be instantly shot.

Laffond bore the marks of the deepest dejection, and his mind was constantly occupied with the confusion into which his arrestation must have thrown his own commercial house, and

those of his friends and corrrespondents, especially since he had lost all means of corresponding with them, whereby he might possibly have formed at Cayenne, with the credit he could have procured there, new plans and undertakings, equally advantageous to his unfortunate country and to himself. He lived very retired, and talked of nothing but his family, his six children, and his wife, whose portrait he was continually contemplating.

Pichegru still retained his accustomed firmness, and shewed that confidence, that presentiment, as it were, of future amelioration, which naturally communicates itself to others, and in which I loved to participate. His principal occupation was learning English; and he preserved, amidst all his amusements and pursuits, his military tone and manners, by which he endeavoured to overcome the tedious monotony of imprisonment. He was often singing, and we sang together, especially such fragments as were applicable to our situation; not plaintive or romantic effusions, but such as abounded in the

energy of vehement expression, or awakened military ardour.

Barthélemy, though so sickly, and so ailing, that even his existence was a miracle, in the continuance of which he had himself believed as little as his proscribers, possessed an internal principle of life, and a strength of mind, which the calmness of his external appearance would scarcely have given room to suspect; but which showed itself with energy on every occasion. In the early part of our imprisonment in the fort, and previous to his being removed to the hospital at Cayenne, he undertook, together with le Tellier, the employment most useful to our miserable colony; that of continually destroying the scorpions, and the various insects that harrassed and devoured us.

I would willingly thus record some traits of each of my fellow prisoners; but, to avoid deviating with unnecessary minuteness into a train of circumstances, which already vanish from my memory, I shall limit myself to pourtraying the

principal individuals of this picture of misery; particularly our warriors and old men: contenting myself with introducing, in the back ground, all their companions in misfortune, who, like myself, have less claim to attract individual attention.

But I cannot pass over in silence the infamous conduct and language of Brothier, whose intimacy with Billaud de Varennes I have already mentioned. I must separate from the picture him whom our contempt separated from our company. I shall pourtray that miscreant priest with one stroke of my pen, or rather with that of his colleague, la Vilheurnois, who, after a violent dispute with him, during which the grossest abuse had not been spared, struck and beat the Abbé. Hearing a disturbance, we ran to the room in which they were. "Leave it to "me, gentlemen," said Vilheurnois, "to punish "this contemptible fellow, for he stands much "in need of correction. If you knew him well, "you would thank me, for he is a friend of dis-"cord, and the Abbé Maury only spoke the truth,

" when he wrote to the Princes—*That if they*
" *wanted to throw every thing into confusion, they*
" *could not do better than employ the Abbé Bro-*
" *thier; for he would introduce discord among*
" *the Angels of Heaven.*"

In the beginning of January, Willot and Bourdon were taken ill, and we applied, in vain, to procure them the same favour that Barthélemy had already obtained, and which, I doubt not, saved his life; for it was impossible he should meet with more salutary attentions, or more soothing consolations, than by being in the hands of the worthy sisters of that charity, and their kind-hearted friend Marie Rose. Jeannet, however, would never consent to Willot and Bourdon being removed to Cayenne, for he knew that at Sinamary death was inevitable. The unfortunate Bourdon died, some time after, of a violent fever, which the heat of his blood, and his continual rage against his old colleagues, constantly increased. Willot was at the last extremity; and we endeavoured to compensate, by unremitting attention, for the total want of every other relief.

Nor

Nor can I forget the zeal and affectionate assiduity with which Marbois, who, in a violent political dispute, had reason to complain of Willot, waited on him during his illness, prepared his victuals, and deprived himself of his best food during his fellow-prisoner's convalescence.

Towards the end of January, Barthélemy contrived to inform us, that an American vessel had arrived with the most afflicting news from France. The usurpation of the Republic was completed; all good citizens oppressed; the revolutionary laws rigorously enforced; and the tribunals of blood re-established, under the name of military commissions. This news made us deplore the fate of our wretched country, and despair of any speedy change in our own.

It appears that the agent-general, Jeannet, doubted, till this intelligence arrived, whether the Directory could maintain the act of violence of the 18th Fructidor; and whether, after having subverted the constitution, it was possible for them again to tyrannize over France by

means of terror: but these recent accounts removed all his doubts, and his present policy was but too well explained by his conduct towards us.

He sent back Barthélemy, though still far from well, to the fort of Sinamary.

Towards the end of February, he published a proclamation to the negroes, denouncing the deported persons at Sinamary as Royalists, who, previous to the 18th Fructidor, were leading them back to slavery. He seemed to consign us to their poignards.

He prohibited the inhabitants, under the severest penalties, from holding any communication with us; and Mr. Grimond, attorney-general for the department, having previous to this order paid a visit to Laffond, was, shortly after, turned out of his place. Not contented with these open persecutions, Jeannet traced out and intercepted the correspondence of some of the deported. For this purpose he had announced the departure

of a packet for Europe, and had apprized all the inhabitants that they might take this opportunity of writing to Europe, which some of us having learnt, ventured to convey letters to Cayenne. But the vessel had no sooner set sail, than Jeannet caused it to be fired on with ball, brought her back, and got possession of all the correspondence.

" The deported," said this inquisitor, " com-
" plain of my severity; but if they knew the
" orders I have received, they would applaud my
" clemency."

Yet, notwithstanding his assiduity to serve the Directory, and notwithstanding his efforts to acquire their good will, Jeannet felt seriously alarmed. He conceived the anarchists, being restored to favour, would become masters of the government, which was already under their influence; and that the friends of Robespierre were but a step from absolute authority. In this opinion, the news brought by the Aigle packet so strongly confirmed him, and excited

his fears so much, that he caused an offer to be made to Billaud de Varennes of his liberty: but the latter refused this favour, and added, that Jeannet might act as he pleased, but he should never forget the treatment he had received, and of which he would one day make him repent.

About the same time, the commandant Desvieux, in his circuit to the different posts, paid a visit to the fort of Sinamary, where he examined our rooms. He first entered that of Marbois. "Good day, *Marbois*," said the commandant; "how do you find yourself here?"—"Very well, Sir," replied Marbois.—"*Sir*," do "you say," returned Desvieux, "I had rather you "had given me a blow than that abusive title. Do "you want any thing?"—"No, Sir,"—"Have "you any complaint to make?"—"We do not "complain."—"Good bye then."—"Good bye, "*Monsieur Desvieux*." Here ended this short dialogue; after which the commandant visited the other rooms, where he found us all immoveable,

with a book in our hands, and without seeming to perceive his presence.

After the return of Barthélemy, every thing around us assumed an appearance more and more menacing. Our communications became more difficult, and we knew that Jeannet had said—" If they are " not carried off by the English, they are done " for; they have nothing to expect from France." Lieutenant Aimé had in one of his visits, brought me, to use his own expression, the good news that, in the district of Conamana, rooms were building for three thousand deported persons. In the month of April, about the period of the new elections, we saw fifteen hundred negroes and thirty or forty whites assembled, who, having received a distribution of rum, voted, by the order of the Directory, for the appointment of Monge (who was then a commissary for the spoliation of Italy), as the representative of the people of Cayenne.

It was at this time, that eight of us, who eat together, determined, not I say on the project,

but the firm resolution of running all risks to rescue ourselves by flight from our tyrants, and to rob them, at least, of the pleasure of seeing us die by inches beneath their iron rod.

Barthélemy and his friend le Tellier, who determined to unite their fate with ours, were the last whom we admitted into the number of the *conspirators*; an expression which I adopt, because it has been employed by the revolutionists: for, in the eyes of those barbarians, the victims, who but turn away their heads from the blow that is striking them, are guilty of a crime against the state, and every man is a conspirator who dares to defend his liberty!

We communicated our design to Marbois, Laffond, and Tronçon du Coudray, who refused to join us; for they never departed from their original sentiments, relying on their innocence, as if that had not been the primary cause of their proscription. They thought it their duty to their country, to their families, and to themselves, to wait in the deserts of Sinamary till the nation

should call out for justice. " Yes," said Marbois, " let them do us justice, severe justice ; let " them bring us before any tribunal whatsoever ; " let them try us, and if we are to be sacrificed, " at least let our defence be heard by our consti- " tuents."

More irritated by the injustice I suffered, and more impatient to burst my chains, I preferred incurring dangers which, perhaps in reality, were of less magnitude, although more striking in appearance. Yet I could not help admiring the constancy, and respecting the blindness of those we left behind.

Various motives induced us to confine our confidence to these individuals. No other of the deported were admitted, and the secret was perfectly well kept.

The plan of our escape frequently varied, according to the means each of us alternately suggested. Hope sustained us to the moment of execution, and no other object occupied our

thoughts. The idea that most naturally suggested itself, was to take refuge among the Indians, and afterwards to endeavour to penetrate across the continent to the Portuguese settlements. But we had no guides, nor could we expect to find any who were acquainted with the language and customs of these nations, or who would run the risk of conducting us thither. We knew, that the nation of the Galibis, the nearest to the French settlements in these parts, had conceived a great aversion for our nation, and that since they had heard of the assassination of the King, committed with impunity in the heart of France, their chiefs had broken off all communication. In short, we only possessed very vague information concerning them, and saw nothing before us but insurmountable difficulties. This scheme therefore was rejected.

Before I describe, however, the plan which we ultimately adopted, I must give an account of what was passing around us during our consultations and preparations for putting it in force: thus completing the history of our greatest miseries,

ries, and our strongest motives for flying from this land of desolation; after which I shall have no further occasion to interrupt the narrative of our deliverance.

Lieutenant Aimé being taken ill, was removed to Cayenne, and relieved by M. Freta, an officer of much firmness, but a very good kind of man. This gentlemen caused the impertinencies of the negroes to be put a stop to, excused us from the disturbance of the alarm drum, and did his utmost to alleviate the rigours of our imprisonment.

Tronçon du Coudray was at that time very ill, and requiring attendance, asked for a negro to wait on him. Jeannet sent him one named Louis, a very bad man, whom he took from the gallies. We well knew that no one would be sent us but such as our persecutors could rely on. This man, however, was intolerably impertinent, and insulted and tormented du Coudray, who complained to the commandant Freta; upon which the negro was arrested and sent back to Cayenne. This conduct irritated Jeannet, who immediately

recalled Freta, substituted Aimé in his place, and ordered the negro to be again sent to the fort. Louis therefore returned more insolent than ever, and waited on the unfortunate du Coudray, notwithstanding his unwillingness to be attended by him.

We were by no means sorry that M. Freta left the fort; for it would have given us great pain to have involved him in the blame of our flight.

The commandant Aimé marked his return with new cruelties. I have already spoken of the intimacy between the Abbé Brothier and Billaud de Varennes. The conduct of that priest daily added to our indignation. He talked but of vengeance, of blood, and of the new system of terror, which, according to him, would produce a counter-revolution; and, if any observations were made, in answer to his outcry for vengeance, he replied, in the language of the celebrated revolutionary doctor—"What care I how many men pe-" rish, if but the species remain." He invented the most horrid calumnies, and vomited forth abuse

against all the world. We strongly expressed our displeasure at his conduct, and the commandant Aimé, to put an end, as he said, to our quarrels, ordered us to be put in irons. When he came to visit us, perceiving that Barthélemy suffered extremely, he said to him, that he saw he had not strength enough to support this punishment, would order his irons to be taken off, and only put him under arrestation in his room. " Let " me alone," replied Barthélemy coolly ; " I still " possess more strength and patience than thou " dost of courage. Leave me to suffer in peace " with my companions."

The Abbé Brothier very charitably asked for our pardon, which was refused. Fortunately Jeannet was much offended at this arbitrary act of the commandant Aimé, of which he was no sooner informed, than he sent the mayor of the canton, Vagel, who happened to be at Cayenne, with an order to liberate us from this severity.

In the beginning of May, Tronçon du Coudray and Laffond, who eat together, were taken

ill almost at the same time. Some hours after they began to vomit violently, and the most alarming symptoms broke out in both of them. They suffered the severest pains, without a moment of intermission. Jeannet was immediately written to, and that favour solicited which was never refused to the lowest criminal. He refused, however, to remove our unfortunate friends to the hospital. At first we received no answer; but the danger increasing, and, as we were destitute of every kind of relief, all our cares and attentions were unable to alleviate the anguish of our unfortunate companions. We persisted therefore in our application, and Tronçon du Coudray, though already swelled and unable to turn, wrote to Jeannet on this occasion: but that monster answered in writing, to the commandant Aimé, " I know not why those gentlemen are " continually importuning me; they ought to " know, they have not been sent to Sinamary to " live there to all eternity."

These two victims, whom we had already given up, lay in the same room, in their ham-

mocks, which were their death-beds, opposite to each other. The cries their tortures forced from them re-echoed to our rooms, and far beyond them; nothing could appease their fatal vomitings. Laffond cried out with vehemence; he raised his hands towards Heaven, and called aloud upon his wife and children.

Their torments continued twenty-five or thirty days. My heart contracts whenever I reflect on this horrid scene. We crowded round our wretched companions, and Marbois did not quit his friend du Coudray for a single moment. I shall never forget the assiduity and fortitude with which he overcame every disgust, and the despair which appeared in his eyes at the very time when he was supporting his dying friend.

Tronçon du Coudray struggled against the approach of death with all the energy natural to his character. The evening before he expired, he crawled about, leaning upon a negro, and came into my room. I seem still to behold this spectre. He sat down for a moment on my hammock, and

said: "I do not flatter myself I can live; but, "should you put your scheme in practice, take me "with you; for I would willingly breathe my last "beyond the walls of this horrid prison. My dear "Ramel, take me with you, if possible." After this he talked of his two friends Dumas and Portalis, rejoicing that they had escaped our miserable fate, and requesting me, should I see them again, to tell them they would employ his last thoughts, and that he recommended his children and his memory to their care.

This was his last effort of strength. He died the next day, which was the 27th of May. Some hours before he expired, he assembled round him Barthélemy, le Tellier, Pichegru, Marbois, Willot, Aubry, Dossonville, and myself.

These were some of his last words: "Fly, my "friends, fly from Sinamary. May Heaven favour "your escape. As for me, I shall presently be no "more; but, should you ever see my friends, tell "them my last sigh was for them, and for my coun-"try. But oh! forget not my children. Should for-

" tune ever smile on you again, oh ! do not disturb " the peace of our native country, but rather brave " all the sufferings of misery." Then, raising his head, and pointing to Brothier's room, " he " talks," said he, " but of civil war; it is his " wish. Ah ! my friends, promise me you will " prevent it, if it be in your power." In these last moments he still suffered cruel torments, and had a burning thirst; but all his faculties remained entire. He divided between us the money he still possessed, and again recommended his memory to our care. He beheld the tears upon our cheeks, and bid us adieu. A few moments before he expired, the Abbé Brothier came to offer him his spiritual comforts. Du Coudray thanked him, and declined his offer. He said, " I have always believed in God, and have al- " ways confided in his justice." Marbois closed the eyes of his friend.

Laffond, who was almost in the agonies of death, and weaker than du Coudray, was witness to this heart-rending scene, which he survived two days. He was overpowered by pain, and

could scarcely articulate; but seemed to retain all his senses. He only named his children and his wife; and his last looks were fixed upon her portrait.

I cannot describe the grief and dejection we suffered in consequence of this loss, the melancholy of Marbois, or the mourning and lamentations which surrounded us during the obsequies. They were buried in the path between the fort and the redoubt.

The forlorn and violent death of our friends, the rage and vehemence of the commandant, who, whenever a signal was made for the enemy's ships, armed himself, and exclaimed, " Ah, you " reckon upon the English! You may think as " you please, but they shall never take you away " alive." All these atrocities, together with the approach of the fatal season of rains and hurricanes, made us earnestly sigh for the day, when we might in freedom brave other dangers, and rescue ourselves from this living tomb.

Our

Our plan was fixed previous to the illness of Tronçon du Coudray and Laffond. I have already said we had rejected the idea of taking refuge with the Indians, and had determined to trust ourselves to the ocean. We knew that the inhabitants of Surinam took a lively interest in our situation; of which they had given us a proof by sending General Pichegru a present of beer and fresh provisions. It is true, we did not receive it; but the insolence of the French coaster, who took charge of it, and came to the fort, boasting, in our presence, of having, together with his crew, drank and eaten the provisions sent us by the Dutch of Surinam, revealed to us this important secret. This circumstance flattered and increased our hopes; but we had no knowledge of that immense and uninhabited coast; we had no means of navigating the intermediate seas; and as the schooners, which are the only vessels that frequent the river of Sinamary, moor at the point which is a league from the fort, we could entertain no hopes of eluding the vigilance of the commandant, or of reaching and carrying off from the anchorage one of those

vessels; for we had no arms or means of accomplishing such a project.

We often walked on the rampart facing the river, where we fixed our eyes on the Western coast, and sighed for liberty. Our imagination exhausted itself, and we fatigued our eyes and thoughts with this monotonous view, where we neither perceived any thing on the water or in the woods, that could awaken in us one glimmering of hope. At the foot of the bastion without the fort, and by the bank of the river, was a small canoe, used for conveying the guard to the redoubt at the Point, and to bring back those whom they relieved. This canoe had all its apparatus, and was consigned to the care of the sentinel posted on the flanked angle of the bastion, within which was the guard-house. We had often beheld it with longing eyes; but it was only by degrees, and through being urged by despair, that we accustomed ourselves to the idea of going out upon the open sea in so slender a vessel. None of us knew how to navigate a boat, and especially a canoe; of which the

management is difficult and dangerous amidst the waves of the sea; and, as we had no compass, it was necessary to confide in an Indian or a sailor.

Our first attempt miscarried. Pichegru having endeavoured to engage an Indian in the plot, who came to sell vegetables in the fort, the latter spread the suspicions which this attempt had awakened.

We hazarded, however, the opening ourselves, without reserve, to a person then in the fort, but whom I must not name. Should this journal fall into his hands, let him receive in secret this public acknowledgement of my gratitude, and of that of my companions; and let him feel the true motives of my silence, as well as of my regret at being unable to publish his name at the same time that I commemorate his generosity.

This individual received our confidence with feeling and humanity, and justified the good opinion we entertained of his heart. He was well acquainted with the coast, aud confirmed our

idea that we could only go to Surinam; but, while he gave us the information, of which we were so greedy, relative to the various Dutch posts, he assured us, that in this small and slender canoe we should not be able to get there; that it was at least a hundred leagues from Sinamary to the gates of Fort Orange, or of Monte-Krick; that it would not be at all safe to go on shore nearer than that point; that even when we got there, so severe a vigilance prevailed in the Dutch colony, that we must not make ourselves known; and that all strangers who were not furnished with good passports, were sent away, and not permitted to enter the territory. It was by means of this policy, and a system of administration at once firm and mild, that the former governor of this happy colony had preserved it to the mother country. Mr. Fréderic had thus, from the beginning of the revolution, maintained his independence not only of the English, whose protection he had rejected, and from whose attacks he was on the point of defending the colony of Surinam, but of the revolutionary party; to whom he had refused to abandon the valuable

property of his fellow citizens. How many new sources of hope! How many new difficulties to encounter!

We had at Cayenne, one of those friends so rarely to be met with in these revolutionary times, who feared not to commit himself; and, had I, with indiscreet gratitude, trusted his name to my pen, would still have courageously braved the resentment of the tyrants. Him we informed of our scheme; and, within a week, he transmitted us, by a confidential person, eight passports, all signed by the hand of Jeannet, and exactly conformable to those he was in the habit of giving to the inhabitants of Surinam who went on business to the neighbouring colonies.

They were in the following borrowed names: that of

Barthélemy	was in the name of	Gallois.
Pichegru	- -	Picard.
Dossonville	- -	Daunon.
Aubry	- - -	Desailleux.
La Rue	- -	Delvezai.

Tellier	- -	Tollibois.
Willot	- -	Toulouse.
Ramel	- -	Fréderick.

In proportion as our scheme advanced, we redoubled our precautions, to prevent our jailors from having the slightest suspicion of it. But towards those of our fellow-prisoners, who were not in the secret, we were obliged to employ a double degree of circumspection, however difficult to be adhered to. The Abbé Brothier suspected some mystery, but did not discover its object. He confined himself to repeating frequently, " you keep me in the dark; you are " plotting something that I well know; and I will " have you caught in the fact:" nor, indeed, was he incapable of such conduct. We could now extend the circle of our confidences no further, without risking the success of our plan. When I reckoned up our conspirators, and stole a glance from the ramparts at this narrow canoe, I thought it very insufficient for our purpose; yet, although our party was already too numerous, we determined to make one more attempt to induce Mar-

bois to accompany us; but he was as inflexible in his resolution as he was in his opinions. Nor would he consent to abandon his sick colleagues while alive, particularly his friend du Coudray; and, since their deaths, he seemed rooted to the ground that covered their remains.

But neither the opinion of Marbois, nor the account he gave us of the dangers of a navigation which he knew better than any of us, nor our regret at leaving him; nothing could deter us from putting our scheme in execution, such and so strong were the disgust and horror we felt for the prison of Sinamary.

We now only wanted a pilot; but where was it possible to find, amidst this desert, a man capable of so much generosity, or rather an angel, to lead us forth from these infernal regions? This event Providence brought about as follows:

The order of the Directory to take neutral ships is said to have caused a great multitude of small

privateers, whose avarice was still further excited by Jeannet, to leave Cayenne about the 20th of May. One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Poisvert, captured, in the latitude of Sinamary, an American ship, commanded by Captain Tilly, who was himself the owner of the cargo. It consisted principally of flour and provisions, which that Captain was actually bringing to Cayenne. He had also on board 40,000 bottles of Bordeaux and Rhenish wines, and of various wines, the produce of Spain.

The fear of being taken, in their turn, by some English frigate or privateer, while plying to windward, in order to escape the currents, and get to Cayenne, induced Captain Poisvert to come and moor, together with his prize, in the road of Sinamary. Perhaps, also, he feared he should have to share his prey with the lion Jeannet.

Poisvert himself brought the crew of his prize to the fort of Sinamary, together with Captain Tilly, whom he treated with great respect. This was a great event for the commandant Aimé, who

expected

expected to derive some profit from the circumstance, as well as the pleasure of drinking his fill of Bourdeaux wine. The negroes, and a part of the garrison, were also happy in unloading and landing the American cargo. This new object of attention was a diversion very much in our favour.

But what was our astonishment when Captain Tilly came to us alone, and, bursting into tears, cried, "'twas you, alas! my unfortunate friends, "whom I came in search of! I knew you were "here, have brought news from your families and "friends, and have packets for you concealed in "barrels, which it is now out of my power "to touch. I had no idea of being attacked "by a French privateer, and suffered myself to "fall to leeward towards Cayenne, in order to have "an excuse for anchoring in the road of Sinamary, "or in that of Couru, whence I hoped to carry on "intelligence with you, and effect your escape. "But Heaven has disposed of us otherwise. I "hoped to have been your deliverer, but, alas! I

" am your fellow-prisoner. What can I still do
" to serve you?"

It is not easy to judge of the impression which, in such circumstances, the first words of Captain Tilly made upon our minds. To us his very presence was a blessing; for he was the only individual who, since our imprisonment at Sinamary, had been able freely to communicate with us, or give us any certain intelligence of our wretched country, and the general state of affairs. We had heard of the peace of Campo-Formio; and Tilly completed our astonishment, as well as indignation, by informing us of the invasion of Switzerland. Barthélemy, in particular, was much affected with it. In short, the violences committed against the Americans, of which he was himself a striking proof, fully convinced us, that our miserable fellow-citizens were entirely enslaved; and that the usurpations of the Directory were subject to no restraint.

The frank and open manners of Captain Tilly,

the interest he took in our fate, and in which we might conclude his free and generous countrymen participated, unavoidably procured him our confidence, and we communicated to him our scheme. We led him to the rampart, as it were to walk, and shewed him the canoe. He shook his head, and said—" No, no, gentlemen, do " not run that risk; for you will certainly perish. " That canoe cannot hold you all, nor carry you to " Surinam. You may rely on my experience, that " it is impossible." We replied that we were resolved to perish, rather than remain with these barbarians; and that, besides, we were only running freely to meet inevitable death, of which, even in the sudden and violent event of a shipwreck, the horrors would be softened by the remembrance of the long continued agony of our friends.—" Well," returned he, " I do not think " you can escape so many dangers, but do not re- " fuse me to participate in them. I will myself " steer the canoe; I will also bring my pilot, my " intrepid Berwick, and perhaps Heaven may pro- " tect, and the winds favour us."

From that time, Captain Tilly appeared equally earnest with ourselves to effect our escape, and he communicated our scheme to the brave Berwick, who did not hesitate a moment in devoting himself to our safety. Captain Tilly never could obtain our consent to join in the expedition, but he took no notice of our refusals, or of the fears he himself had awakened in us, relative to the smallness of the canoe.

Every thing being now ready, nothing remained to be done, but to choose a favourable moment for eluding the vigilance of the commandant Aimé, escaping that of Brothier, attacking the post, or at least the sentinel who had charge of the canoe, quitting the fort to go away with it, and lastly, to get out to sea before the garrison was alarmed.

The reader will remember what I have said of the secret services rendered us by certain individuals, and he may readily conceive their exertions to enable us to overcome these last difficulties. But, without precisely pointing out the indivi-

duals I allude to, it will be sufficient to describe the means employed.

It was now the first of June, and the appointed day was at hand, as well as the scene that was to facilitate our enterprise. The *dénouement* of our plot approached under the sinister omen of the funeral obsequies of our friends. We had recently performed the last offices to Laffond, when Captain Tilly brought us intelligence, that Jeannet had given orders to send him and all his crew to Cayenne, for which place they were to embark next day. To us this news was like a thunderbolt, and almost disheartened us. Tilly, however, was absolutely determined to sacrifice himself, and to hide himself in the woods till the next day (the third of June), which was the last day appointed for our awful attempt. On that day he said he would run to the canoe on a signal agreed upon. We had great difficulty to induce him to give up the honour of so great an action to the brave Berwick. We observed to him, that Berwick disappearing at the time of calling over the crew of the prize would not awaken so

much suspicion as that of the captain, whose visits to the deported persons and his walks with them had been already too much noticed. It was, however, with great reluctance that Tilly yielded to this last consideration. He parted from us indeed to expose himself even to greater dangers than we encountered, as on him would fall all the fury of Jeannet, whether we were so happy as to escape, or whether we were so unfortunate as to be discovered and arrested with Berwick. But Tilly thought of nothing but of our safety; and, if we could but once arrive at Surinam, he cared not what became of himself. How affecting was our parting scene! who among us all could venture to flatter himself with the hope of seeing thee again, worthy, incomparable Tilly!

Berwick instantly disappeared and concealed himself in the woods. It was agreed, that, two days after (on the 3d of June), at the nine o'clock gun, he should be upon the bank of the river under the bastion; and that he should leap into the canoe the moment he saw us appear: but we were extremely uneasy on his account, for, as we feared,

he was almost devoured by noxious animals; nor could he defend himself from the serpents and that terrible animal the cayman but by continuing thirty-six hours on a tree, and even there he was not secure from tigers.

Captain Poisvert had invited the commandant of the fort to dinner on the 3d of June, on board the American prize, in return for the kind reception he had met with, and the assistance he had received from the garrison, which had two days before vigorously attacked an English privateer, that had approached the anchorage. At the same time that he entertained the commandant with a handsome dinner, and gave him the choicest wines he had on board, he had distributed to the garrison some common Bourdeaux wine. A girl, who had arrived some days before from Cayenne, did the honours, and delivered bottles of wine in profusion to the soldiers in their barracks and guard-house, to the negroes in their rooms, to the sentinels at their posts, and to the deported under their corridor. Ah! how long this day appeared! with what pleasure we watched

this young girl thus joyously pouring out bumpers to the half intoxicated soldiers. Her activity and solicitude served us to our utmost wishes.

Every one drank freely, as we did ourselves, and, seeming to take part in these orgies, we feigned a quarrel among us while at dinner, in order to avoid giving the most trifling indication of the plot. Aubry and Larue abused Barthélemy, le Tellier also took part in the dispute, Dossonville and Pichegru threatened each other, and Willot and myself seemed desirous of pacifying the rest. Glasses and plates flew about, and the uproar was so great, that the rest of the deported persons came in to separate us. The Abbé Brothier himself endeavoured to put an end to this disturbance, which only increased the more: but Barthélemy, who was the least skilful in feigning passion, coolly breaking his glass in an aukward gesture of rage, a burst of laughter had nearly betrayed us.

Night came on, and we saw the commandant

Aimé

Aimé brought in, dead drunk, like a corpse. Silence had now succeeded to the songs and cries of intoxication, and the soldiers and negroes lay dispersed here and there. The service was forgot, and the guard-house abandoned.

Before we retired into our rooms we took leave of Marbois, to whom our separation was a painful sacrifice, and who considered this as our last hour. The clock struck nine, the last we heard at Sinamary, and Dossonville, who was upon the watch, gave us all notice to begin our enterprise; upon which we went out and assembled near the gate of the fort, of which the draw-bridge was not yet up. All was sleep and silence. I mounted the bastion of the guard-house with Pichegru and Aubry, and went directly to the sentinel (the contemptible drummer who had so often tormented us), and asked him the hour. He made no answer, but fixed his eyes upon the stars; upon which I seized him by the throat, while Pichegru disarmed him, and we dragged him along, throttling him so as to prevent his crying out. We were now upon the parapet, and he

struggled so violently that he got away from us and fell into the river. We then rejoined our companions at the foot of the rampart, and perceiving no one in the guard-house, ran in and took arms and cartridges. We then went out of the fort and flew to the canoe. Berwick was already there, and helped us to get into it. Barthélemy, who was very infirm and less active than the rest of us, fell, and sunk in the mud; but Berwick caught hold of him and saved him, and, having put him into the canoe, cut the rope. Berwick now took the helm, while we, motionless and silent, went with the stream. The current and the tide bore our light bark rapidly along, and we heard nothing but the murmurs of the waters and of the land breeze, which swelled our little sail, and wafted us from our tomb of Sinamary.

We now approached the redoubt at the point, which it was necessary to pass, and therefore we struck our sail to avoid being seen. We knew that the eight men, who were upon guard at the redoubt, had received their share of the favours

of Captain Poisvert, and that they also must be drunk. We accordingly were not hailed, and the tide carried us beyond the bar. We passed to the left of our brave friend Tilly's ship, and very near the schooner la Victoire, which was lately arrived from Cayenne, and which we knew was commanded by the worthy Captain Bracket, to whom our escape must have given great pleasure, and who certainly would not have opposed us.

The breeze freshened and the sea was smooth. But, had we left the coast, we should have been in danger of mistaking our tract; and, if we kept too near the shore, we might have fallen upon the rocks, which are numerous there as far as Iraconbo. The moon now suddenly appeared, as if on purpose to give us light. This was a delicious moment. We congratulated each other, and thanked Providence and our generous pilot, who was in a dreadful state, being much swelled and disfigured by the stings of venomous insects.

We had proceeded smoothly for about two

hours, when we heard three guns, two from the fort of Sinamary, and one from the redoubt at the point; and, soon after, the post at Iraconbo answered with three. We doubted not but our flight was now discovered, yet were no longer afraid of a direct pursuit from Sinamary, where there was not one boat that could go out to sea. At all events, we had already got considerably the start of them, and the ships in the road alone could have given us chace. But Captains Poisvert and Bracket, over whom Aimé had no command, would not have weighed anchor and put to sea without orders from Jeannet.

We had, therefore, nothing to apprehend but from the detachment of Iraconbo, which we knew consisted but of twelve men; nor could they come after us but in a boat nearly like our own, with eight or ten armed men on board. We continued, however, ranging along the coast, and got our arms in readiness, being determined to defend ourselves if attacked, or in case our passage, under the fort of Iraconbo, should be impeded.

At four in the morning, we heard two guns to

the Eastward, which were answered, within a minute after, by another close to us. We were at this time before the fort, but it was dark, and we saw nothing. We sailed fast, and when day appeared, Iraconbo was to leeward of us. We had now no fear of being pursued, and had only the dangers of the sea to overcome.

Our canoe was so small and so low sided, that every sea filled it; so that we were continually at work, bailing her, and she was so light, that the least motion might have upset us. Hence we were nearly lost by an imprudence of which I alone was guilty. As I was rowing, I happened to make a false stroke with my oar, and my hat fell into the water; upon which, leaning eagerly over to regain it, I threw the boat out of her trim, and it was with great difficulty we righten-ed her. But Berwick's address, together with our activity, soon remedied this disaster; and I was severely reprimanded by Pichegru, whom we had made our captain. Barthélemy, being still covered with mud, took this opportunity to wash himself. I had the misfortune to lose my hat,

and had no means of defending my head from the burning rays of the sun, but by making myself a turban of some Banana leaves, which the negro fishermen had left in the bottom of the canoe.

As we had neither compass, nor instruments for taking the sun's altitude, we might have lost our way in the night: and the least gale of wind might have driven us out to sea, whenever we were obliged to keep off the shore, on account of the rocks or currents near the mouths of rivers. It had been impossible for us to bring away any provision, and we had not even a biscuit or a drop of water. Le Tellier, however, had brought two bottles of rum; and we were persuaded, the winds that constantly blow from East to West along this coast would carry us, in two days, to Monte-Krick. It was enough, therefore, if we could support our strength till then by means of this spirituous liquor.

On the 4th we suffered much from the heat. We had, however, a good breeze, with which we

ranged along the coast; and when night prevented us from seeing the land, we reckoned that we were opposite the mouth of the river Marowni, the banks of which are the limits that separate the Dutch and French territories, and which is but forty leagues to windward of the port of Monte-Krick. Yet at eleven o'clock when the moon rose, we perceived nothing either in the appearance of the land, or the motion of the water, to shew that we were near a great river. On the 5th we were not more fortunate, and we pursued our course till night, without any signs of the river or fort of Marowni. We were still, in all probability, somewhat to windward of the river of Amaribo, a part of the coast which rises a little towards the North-East, and intercepts the view.

On the 6th we were becalmed. Having now been three days without food, we suffered the most cruel hunger, and were extremely parched by the sun, the heat of which was not now tempered by the breeze; and, as our minds were neither occupied by motion, nor supported by the hope of speedily reaching the end of our

fatiguing voyage, we were forcibly struck with the horror of our situation, and it was with difficulty we kept up our courage; for we had now nothing to expect from human assistance, nothing from our own exertions, which were thus deluded by the elements. It was on this very day of despair that we mutually urged each other to sacrifice even our just resentment, and not to suffer vengeance to take possession of our minds. We swore, in the presence of the Almighty, never to bear arms against our country, and resigned ourselves to the will of Providence.

The next day, the 7th of June, and the 4th of our voyage, a breeze sprang up, and freshened a little towards eight o'clock in the morning; and at ten we were in sight of Fort Marowni, and opposite the mouth of the river, which the shallow reefs and currents render very dangerous. It was, indeed, with great fatigue and risk we surmounted these obstacles. We were also much harrassed by the monstrous sharks that surrounded and attacked our canoe, and which we were obliged to drive off by firing at them.

We supported the torment of hunger with so much patience as even to indulge in pleasantries relative to the various symptoms of our sufferings. In the meanwhile we continually watched, but still in vain, for the fort and river of Orange, and at six o'clock in the evening were again becalmed.

At three in the morning of the 8th the wind freshening, we got under weigh. At one we were in sight of Fort Orange, which we doubled, intending not to go on shore until we got as far as Monte-Krick, as had been recommended to us; and were opposite the fort, at about a gun-shot from it, when we were saluted with several guns loaded with ball, and of large calibre, which followed each other so rapidly, that we should inevitably have been sunk, had we gone further out to sea. This severity made us afraid of again approaching the shore; but we have since learnt, it was merely intended to make us hoist our flag, of which we had none.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the sky low-

ered, the wind increased, and we sailed very fast; yet we could scarcely escape the swell of the sea, which drove us towards the shore. Our brave pilot hoped we should reach Monte-Krick before the storm, but we could not expect to weather it. We were now every moment in danger of being lost: Berwick steered towards the shore, and the instant we gained it, a heavy sea broke and upset us. It was low water, and we sunk in the mud; yet notwithstanding the exertions we were obliged to make to disengage ourselves, notwithstanding the dreadful storm that raged around us, we did not lose hold of our canoe, and even succeeded in setting her upon her bottom.

At length we got on shore, not knowing where we were, or whether it was possible for us to go along the coast as far as Fort Orange, from which we reckoned ourselves eight leagues; although, in reality, our distance was but four.

We were now worn out with hunger and fatigue; our ragged clothes were wet, and covered with mud,

and we found no shelter but a wood, which was full of insects and reptiles. We had lost our arms and ammunition when the canoe was upset: night was coming on, and we heard nothing but the howling of tigers and the roaring of the sea. What a dreadful night! The winds raging, a deluge of rain falling, and accompanied with chilling cold. We were obliged to exert all our strength and labour throughout the night to keep hold of our canoe, which the waves continually washed away; and which, notwithstanding all our exertions, was much damaged. It will hardly be believed, that we still retained sufficient strength to persevere in these efforts, after having suffered so much fatigue during five days and nights, without food. We were all naked in the sea, struggling with the waves, which were thus robbing us of our last hopes. Barthélemy, notwithstanding his infirmities, worked with the rest, and afforded an example of patience and courage during this dreadful night.

At day break on the 9th of June, which was the 6th day since our departure from Sinamary,

we beheld each other with mutual compassion, half frozen with cold and almost ready to sink under our fatigues. We consoled ourselves by saying: "At least, we shall not die in their hands."

Pichegru had saved his pipe and his utensils for lighting, with which we contrived to make a fire and thus dried our cloaths. At length the heavens became serene, but the wind continued to blow with violence.

We now laid ourselves down upon our bellies on the sand, unable to defend ourselves from the stings of insects and the bites of crabs. Fortunately le Tellier had taken such good care of his little stock of rum that half a bottle still remained: but our hearts were so depressed, that we had not strength to swallow and only refreshed ourselves by washing our mouths and lips with these spirits.

During this day (the 9th June), the heroic le Tellier had contrived a shelter for Barthélemy with branches of trees, and while the latter lay down

to rest or rather to faint, le Tellier, forgetting his own sufferings, drove away the insects with a light branch, particularly from the face and hands of his master. What an affectionate attachment! what a glorious part did this worthy fellow act in alleviating our misfortunes!

At night the sky was again overcast, and we were obliged to work while the tide was in, to preserve our canoe, which we had no means of fastening. As the tigers approached very near us, we increased our fire; and thus we passed the remainder of this night which was the second since we were cast on shore and the 7th of our escape.

At day break on the 10th of June we perceived at a distance, a vessel, which Berwick discovered to be an English privateer.

We had sheltered ourselves under some trees, where we had formed a kind of hut, from which I went out at 6 in the morning, to examine the weather and our canoe. Having crawled a

few steps, I perceived, about 200 paces from us, on the beach, two armed men, upon which I ran in, crying, "I see men;" all our party instantly rose up, and Berwick, though the most indisposed on account of having been so severely stung in the woods of Sinamary, darted forward towards them, while we concealed ourselves, that our numbers might not alarm them. On seeing our poor Berwick, who scarcely retained the form of a human being, the two soldiers stopped and levelled their muskets at him, on which he fell upon his knees and raised his hands in a suppliant posture, at the same time crying out, making signs, and pointing to the canoe. The soldiers listened to him, and came towards him, and at the same time we all surrounded them. We soon found they were two German soldiers of the garrison of Monte-Krick, and Pichegru entering into conversation with them, learnt that we were but three leagues from that fort. These men had been sent on duty to Fort Orange, where they would not fail to give an account of the number and situation of the persons they had found cast away, and therefore we determined to depute two

of our party to the commandant of the fort, to ask for succours and exhibit our passports, but at the same time concealing who we were.

We fixed upon Barthélemy and la Rue, whom we caused to drink the remainder of our rum before they set out. At the very time they arrived at Fort Orange, the commandant was dispatching a picquet of fifty men to fetch us away. Our ambassadors declared the object of our voyage, stating us to be merchants, and describing all the particulars of our being cast away, in consequence of which we had lost all our provisions and effects; and adding that the bad state of our canoe which was almost broken to pieces, would not admit of our putting to sea again after the storm. The commandant received them with great humanity, and having ordered them some victuals, sent workmen and negroes to repair our boat and assist in setting it afloat, and to search for our pretended merchandize. When we saw this troop consisting of about twenty persons at a distance, we were very uneasy, till two of these workmen who spoke French had explained their

orders, upon which having shewed them the canoe, they drew it ashore and began to repair it with the greatest industry and skill.

At 6 in the evening Barthélemy and la Rue arrived; but they were so much overjoyed and so agitated, that they did not think of bringing us a bottle of water. We could scarcely believe that Barthélemy had strength enough remaining to perform a journey of 8 leagues on these burning sands.

Our canoe being now repaired, and the sea having become smooth, we were desirous of immediately embarking; but were obliged to wait for the tide. In the meanwhile, the workmen, whom we recompensed as well as we could, and whom we were sorry to detain during the night, had orders not to leave us till they saw us at sea. Poor Berwick was growing worse, and as we were obliged to pass this night also amidst hostile insects, it might have proved the last of his life: for it must not be forgotten, that this worthy fellow, whose corporeal strength equalled

his

his courage and generosity, had suffered cruel torments during the two days he had past in the woods of Sinamary, waiting for the appointed time of our expedition. We had now not an instant to lose, to save him who had preserved our lives.

At day break, on the 11th June, Barthélemy, la Rue, Aubry and Dossonville set off along the coast towards Monte-Krick, to procure food and lodgings for the poor shipwrecked merchants.

Some hours after their departure, and at high water, Pichegru, Willot, le Tellier, and myself, re-entered our canoe, which the workmen vigorously pushed off, and then took their leave of us; while Berwick, though almost dying, resumed the helm. A little before noon, we entered the small river of Monte-Krick, where we landed, while Berwick triumphed in our success, which he considered as the full reward of his kindness and generosity.

The commandant of the post at Monte-Krick had already received our companions with kindness, and had ordered us a spacious, clean and comfortable room by the side of the creek. What a moment of joy was that of our meeting in this happy place! Our friends had prepared for us two fowls, some rice, and bread, which, on this occasion, was watered with tears of pleasure and gratitude! We were alive! We had escaped our persecutors, the dangers of the waves, and the horrors of famine! In short, we were free!

Having taken a little nourishment, though with many precautions, we made fast our boat, which we cherished as if it had been an animated being, and towards which we felt both affection and gratitude.

We then paid a visit to the captain who commanded at the fort, and to whom our arrival caused much embarrassment. He saw no probability in the story of our being merchants; an assertion which our destitute condition and rag-

ged dress belied, as our language belied our wretched appearance.

His surprise was increased at the smallness of our boat, and our boldness in venturing in it out at sea. As this captain spoke French, we did our best to persuade him our story was true, and shewed him our passports. We observed that he had a copy of the description of the deported stuck behind the looking-glass; Jeannet having printed and distributed it to all the neighbouring colonies, and all the posts along the coast.

This worthy commandant, who, without giving himself much trouble about the truth of our story, treated us kindly, merely because we were unfortunate, shewed us himself this description without any suspicion, as he afterwards assured us, that we were the persons: and, certainly, it would at this time have been difficult to recognize any of us. He asked us, however, if we had touched at Sinamary? to which we replied, we had not. "And what," said he, "is become "of those unfortunate men, Pichegru and Barthé-

" lemy, and their unfortunate companions ?" We told him, " they had been in great misery, but " that they now hoped for a change of fortune."

Having giving orders to supply us with necessaries, the commandant told us, he was about to give an account of our arrival to the governor of the colony. He made no secret of the motives for the vigilance which had been particularly enjoined him with regard to the French. The colony of Surinam, he said, had been preserved, by the vigilance of its commander, from the troubles which had ruined all the French settlements. The negro slaves were better treated there, were more happy, and, consequently, more laborious, than if they had received the fatal and delusive gift of liberty. Jeannet, being displeased at the refusal of some unwarrantable demands for money or provisions, had said that " he would revenge himself on those aristocrats, " and revolutionize Surinam ;" and hence the commandants along the coast had orders narrowly to watch all the French who landed in the colony.

We therefore wrote to the governor, relating, in a few words, the atrocities we had experienced both in France and Sinamary, our escape, and our being cast away; and we solicited refuge and protection in the name of humanity and of honour.

It is twenty-four leagues from Monte-Krick to Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, where the governor resides.

On the 12th we passed the day in resting ourselves, and attending those of our party whom our first refreshments had not restored to their strength; particularly Dossonville, who had symptoms of a very serious illness, and poor Berwick, who was in a high fever.

We had all a hideous appearance, being much burnt by the sun, and the reflection from the sea; much swelled and disfigured by the stings of insects; our clothes in no better condition than our bodies; and some of us were even without shoes. We endeavoured, however, to

mend our rags to the best of our power. We blushed, not for ourselves, but for our country, to appear in this deplorable condition in the eyes of foreign nations.

In the morning of the 13th, a planter, whose estate lay near Monte-Krick, invited us to his house, and made us the kindest offers, though without suspecting who we were, and being very urgent that we should accompany him immediately. We were about to attend him, when Willot, whose turn it was to watch our friendly canoe, descried a cavalier at a distance, and called us to observe him. Pichegru recognized the Dutch uniform, and assured us he was a superior officer. As soon as he saw our quarters, which had, no doubt, been described by the commandant, he clapped spurs to his horse, dismounted, came up to the room where we were assembled, and, with extreme agitation, said, "M. Gallois, "M. Picard, are you here?" Upon thisBarthélemy and Pichegru immediately came forward, dressed in a coarse vest or jacket, of grey cloth. The Dutch general shewed marks of surprise and indigna-

tion, then embraced them repeatedly, and pressed us all alternately in his arms, unable for some time to utter a single word. "Gentlemen," said he, after a short interval, "you formed a just "idea of our governor. He is waiting with im- "patience for your arrival, and all the inhabi- "tants of Surinam are equally affected with your "misfortunes."

On this we burst into tears, and our excessive joy had nearly been fatal to some of us. Worthy and humane Dutchman, receive the homage of that gratitude, of which prudence alone restrains the expression!

When we left Monte-Krick we reluctantly took leave of our canoe, which we had christened *San Salvador*, and would willingly have taken it with us. At some distance from our quarters, on the creek, we found two gondolas were waiting for us, in one of which refreshments were set out, and in the other clothes, linen and shoes.

It is impossible to conceive the delicious sen-

nations we now experienced, without having, like us, been exposed naked on the burning sand to the scorching rays of the sun, and the severe cold arising from heavy rains and the dew of night. The same day, which was Sunday the 13th of June, we slept at the plantation of a friend of the governor's, who, having learned from him our arrival at Monte-Krick, insisted on our passing the night at his house, regretting that, being engaged in town by business, he could not meet us. He had, however, given orders to prepare apartments and provisions for us. What an agreeable surprise! what a powerful impression did the sight of this plantation excite! we came as it were from the regions of Tartarus and entered those of Elysium. We were delighted with his spacious gardens, his beautiful groves, his fine house, his table which was sumptuously set out, his elegant apartments, and his comfortable beds.

After supper, the negroes danced before us, to banish as it were from our memory the outrages of Sinamary.

Our

On the morning of the 14th, having enjoyed that repose to which we had so long been strangers, we re-embarked in our gondolas and dropped down the river Comervine, admiring the rich plantations which adorn its banks, the neatness of the innumerable canals, the elegance of the gardens, and the magnificence of the buildings. At length we entered the river of Surinam, and at noon arrived at a plantation, where we were expected by several of the principal planters, who had assembled to meet us. We saw them waiting for us on the bank, which we had scarcely reached, before they sprang forward into our boat and embraced us with an effusion of fraternal affection.

Here we were treated with a magnificence which formed an honourable contrast with our long beards and disfigured countenances.

The tide permitted us to depart at four o'clock. About an hour afterwards we met a splendid gondola, in which was the governor himself, who was coming to meet us. He immediately came

into our bark, and embraced us with a lively emotion, saying—" Welcome, all of you; for-" get if possible your misfortunes; I will do every " thing in my power to efface them from your " memories. We are all happy to see you. The " whole colony, and myself in particular, are at " your command."

As we passed under the fort of Nassau, we were saluted with 50 guns, which were repeated gun for gun by the fort of Amsterdam on the right bank, and the batteries of Paramaribo answered them. We were about a league from the city when it grew dusk, and it became quite dark before we entered the port.

The whole town was illuminated; the garrison and the colonial militia were under arms, and we landed amidst the discharges of musketry and artillery from the square and from the fleet. The acclamations of the people, and their cries of joy, re-echoed through the air; they crowded about us, and shewed the greatest eagerness to see and embrace us. Thus surrounded by this nu-

merous escort, we arrived, amid the affectionate effusion of this happy and generous people, at the governor's palace.

His wife received us with equal gracefulness and sensibility; and the impression our misfortunes made upon this charming woman was so powerful, that we were frequently obliged to avoid her presence, because she was too much affected by them.

The governor entertained Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, while the principal inhabitants contended for the pleasure of receiving us, and they all loaded us with proofs of esteem and affection. I would willingly describe the various entertainments and country excursions, with which the inhabitants of Paramaribo, who equally endeavoured to show the joy they felt at having us among them, contrived for us. The riches and luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam, the flourishing state of that colony, the smiling luxuriance of its crops, the charms of its internal navigation, and the pomp both of its public esta-

blishments and private houses, are universally known, and it is easy to form an idea of public entertainments: but what is difficult to conceive, because it is an extraordinary phenomenon, is, that benevolence and humanity should animate a whole people, and spread and communicate to every class the virtues and sympathies of the government. It was these sentiments, and not mere idle curiosity, that actuated our worthy and respectable hosts, who, far from importuning us with questions relative to the miseries we had suffered, on the contrary, carefully avoided the subject. But the horrid picture of Sinamary, the captivity of our companions who still remained there, and whose treatment perhaps was more severe in consequence of our escape, in short, the situation of the worthy Captain Tilly, who had so unfortunately fallen into the hands of Jeannet; these reflections haunted our imaginations, and, although they might enhance the value of the blessings Providence had showered upon us, and render the contrast of our present situation more striking, yet the most cruel reflections often disturbed these smiling scenes.

Our days were thus gliding on with rapidity, when, on the 18th of June, Captain David, a coaster belonging to Cayenne, arrived at Paramaribo, with dispatches from Jeannet to the governor, informing him of our escape. This letter concluded as follows:

" If these gentlemen have not been taken by " the English privateers, and if they have not pe- " rished, as I fear they have, they must doubtless " have taken refuge in your colony. In that case, " it is my duty to claim them in the name of the " Directory, as prisoners of state. Should you be " able to discover them, I request, and even re- " quire you to put them under arrest; but I in- " treat you to use no violence towards them, and " to grant them all the kindness due to their mis- " fortunes."

The governor replied, that he had not as yet heard of the escape of Messrs. Barthélemy, Pichegru, &c. but that eight merchants and a sailor had a few days before arrived at Paramaribo; that he sent him their description and the pass-

ports they had produced, and assured him that should the deported arrive, he would pay them all the requisite attentions.

Captain David was well treated and might, on his return, have explained to Jeannet, who would no doubt be astonished at finding his own signature to the passports, the true sense of the letter of which he was the bearer. Nothing further passed, and the captain returned to Cayenne.

We had learned, by Captain David, the painful news of the frigate *la Décade*, which had moored in the road of Cayenne, on the 6th of June, three days after our departure, and on board of which were 193 deported persons; among these were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, Gilbert des Molières and Job Aimé, both of them almost in a dying state.

We were far from harbouring any fears of the official demands of the proconsul of Guyana; but, as if to inspire us with new confidence, the

inhabitants lavished on us every possible attention, every amusement, and, in short, every proof of their unbounded benevolence.

In the meanwhile, we were very desirous of passing some days in the country; for most of us had not been able to recover strength enough to enjoy the pleasures that were offered us on every side. We all required rest, and sighed for the benefits of an European climate: in short, we determined, as soon as we had re-established the health of those who required it, and enjoyed, for a few days more, the attentions of the worthy governor and his friends, to embark in a neutral vessel for the North of Europe. Barthélemy was in so weak a state, that we had no hopes of his being able to accompany us, and the governor, thinking he would not be able to bear a sea voyage, urged him to renounce his plan, and remain with him. Dossonville was at the point of death. All the aids and remedies of art were lavished upon us, and no sooner were our intentions known, than our friends exerted all their efforts to dissuade us from it. They were desi-

rous, they said, of keeping us and guarding us at Surinam, till we should be recalled to our own country.

We returned to the town on the 27th, and were much surprised to find a second messenger arrived from Cayenne, who brought the governor an answer from Jeannet to his last dispatches.

In this second letter he confessed, that the passports of the pretended merchants were in fact signed by him; but he asserted that no such merchants as Gallois, Picard, and the rest, had ever existed in the colony of Guyana; that he was not ignorant that Barthélemy and Pichegru and six others of the deported were at Paramaribo; that he insisted on our being arrested, and that he would give an account of this transaction to his government.

In consequence of this letter we made an offer to the governor immediately to disappear and keep ourselves concealed until our departure for St. Thomas's, on which we had already determined.

mined. This precaution, however, that brave man said he should consider as a weakness.

But, averse to become the subjects of a quarrel and of revolutionary reprisals on the part of Jeannet, we determined, on the evening of the 28th, to leave Surinam. Dossonville was better, and was desirous of going with us; and Barthélemy made us promise to wait for him at St. Thomas's.

On the 29th, our preparations were completed; a small and very commodious vessel belonging to Mr. Sticle was freighted in the name of the colony, and stocked with an abundance of provisions and refreshments; the pilot having instructions to obey the orders we should give him. We now took leave of Berwick, who was loaded with presents by the governor and inhabitants. We had nothing to offer him, nor could we have induced him to accept any thing but our gratitude, which we promised to publish to our fellow-citizens, and, if possible, throughout all Europe. I have discharged a small part of this sacred

debt. He sailed a few days after for Philadelphia.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th of June, Pichegru, Willot, la Rue, Aubry, Dossonville and myself, left Paramaribo to sleep at the plantation of our worthy officer, which is at the mouth of the creek, where our vessel dropped down to wait for us. The inhabitants of Paramaribo took leave of us in the most affectionate manner. The governor and the principal officers came to the plantation, where many of the inhabitants assembled; and Barthélemy, though very ill, was carried thither, together with his inseparable le Tellier.

When I reflect on the affectionate embraces of our benefactors, and their last adieus by the seaside, I cannot restrain my tears; nor am I able to express what I felt at this parting scene. Our patriarchal Barthélemy was unable to speak, and could scarcely move, but he bestowed on us all the blessings his expressive looks and feeble

hands could communicate. It was about 8 in the evening, when we tore ourselves from the arms of these worthy people, and entered the canoe to go on board. M. de Badenbourg, an old officer in the Dutch service, brother of the governor of Berbice, embarked with us on his return to his brother, and was to part with us at the mouth of the river of that name.

When we had weighed anchor, our adieus were heard and repeated by our friends; and the banks, even when we could scarcely distinguish them, still re-echoed with these parting sounds: "Adieu—may you be happy—adieu—forget not "Surinam!"

There was a heavy swell, and we stood to the Westward, ranging along the coast till midnight, when a gun being fired at us with ball obliged us to bring to. It was from an English privateer, which had approached us unperceived by our pilot. The privateer, not finding us bring to fast enough, fired a second gun, and, when we were within gun-shot, saluted us with a discharge of

case shot. Being now hailed by them, we answered, that we came from Surinam, and were going to Berbice with dispatches. But not satisfied with this, the captain insisted on visiting us. The night was very dark, and the two ships ran foul of each other. The English captain examined our papers and passports, having reckoned on a good capture; but he only took away our fruits, and, withdrawing his men, left us to pursue our course.

At day break the next morning (the 1st July), we had another alarm. A gun was fired to make us bring to; and, on our attempting to avoid it, a second was fired, which was so well aimed, that the wind of the ball threw down the pilot, who was at the helm; in consequence of which our ship drifted with the current from the river Corentin, of which we were abreast, and we had nearly upset.

But what was our surprise and alarm when we heard ourselves hailed in French! I only saw negroes on the deck, and had now no doubt but

we had fallen into the hands of one of Hugues's privateers; especially when I saw the captain launch his pinnace, which was manned by six negroes. M. de Badenbourg, who was equally alarmed with ourselves, now came upon deck, and having looked for a short time at the boat, cried out: "Good day, Captain Anderson; how "do you do?" This removed all our fears; and we afterwards learnt, that this Captain Anderson had a short time before, in the latitude of the Canaries, visited a ship, on board of which M. de Badenbourg was a passenger, when he came from Europe. The captain was very civil, and, when he learnt who we were, offered to escort us; for he assured us, the coast was much infested with Hugues's privateers.

At day break the next morning (2nd July), our pilot got sight of the river Berbice, which he approached, in order to put M. de Badenbourg on shore. As we were launching our pinnace, a vessel which we had observed during some hours, fired several guns at us. We had taken it for an English ship, but its manœuvres, and its obsti-

nacy in bringing us to, though they saw us tack about at the mouth of the Berbice, convinced us it was a French privateer; and, accordingly, we were scarcely under the guns of the fort of St. Andrew, before we saw them moor beyond their range, in order to block up the river. We determined, therefore, to put into Berbice, which was a Dutch colony in the possession of the English; requesting M. de Badenbourg to apply to his brother to give us refuge till we could again put to sea in safety.

We went up the river with the tide; and soon after we had parted from M. de Badenbourg, two boats came to bring us on shore. We were conducted to the governor's house, where we met with that good reception we had reason to expect from the brother of our worthy shipmate.

We told him we had been pursued by privateers, and solicited refuge and protection. He answered literally as follows:

" Be not uneasy, gentlemen ; here you are un-
" der the protection of the English government ;
" but I must request your word of honour, that
" you will not quit the territories that are under
" the authority of His Britannic Majesty, without
" the consent of the government."

We had now no longer the power of receding ; and, being convinced of the impossibility of reaching the Danish island of St. Thomas, without falling into the hands of the privateers, by which Victor Hugues, informed, no doubt, of our flight, caused us to be pursued, we gave the governor this assurance, and confided ourselves to the cares and attentions of M. de Badenbourg.

This governor, and all the inhabitants of the colony, were anxious to give us as kind a reception as we had met with at Surinam. Madame de Badenbourg, who is a most amiable woman, and a model of elegance and domestic virtue, being surrounded by a numerous and charming family, lavished upon us innumerable attentions

and presents, and omitted nothing to render our stay at Berbice agreeable.

Colonel Heslop, commandant of the military forces of His Britannic Majesty at the colonies of Berbice and Demerary, having heard of our arrival, came to Berbice, and informed us, that General Boyard, commander in chief of the land forces in the Windward Islands, had recently sent him orders to convey us to Martinico; and that, to defend us from privateers, Admiral Hervey had dispatched a frigate, which he expected to arrive on the 14th (it was now the 9th), when we were to go to Demerary.

In addition to these generous offers of protection from the English government, the Colonel expressed the kindest concern for our misfortunes, and the strongest desire of serving us.

We took leave, with great regret, of M. de Badenbourg and his family. I shall retain, till my dying day, the impression his worthy character, his many amiable qualities, his noble turn

of

of mind, and his spirit of independence, made upon me. He appeared to me like a sage devoting his life to the happiness of mankind, and spreading around him all the blessings in his power and the influence of his virtuous example.

Colonel Heslop had offered to conduct us to Demerary by land, but we preferred the shorter conveyance of the sea. Accordingly, we embarked on board a brig called the Flying Fish at eleven in the morning of the 9th of July, and at night moored at the mouth of the river Demerary.

We landed next day at that fine colony, which the English government is so assiduous to improve and render flourishing, and in which more activity prevails than in any other on this coast, on account of its frequent communications with the Caribbee Islands. M. Beaujon, civil governor in chief, received us in the most friendly manner, and all the inhabitants vied with each other in showing the interest they took in our miraculous escape. Colonel Heslop invited us to his house, and treated us with the utmost po-

liteness. The colonel is a gentleman whose noble manners evince the elevation of his mind: I had long known him by reputation, having been present at the bloody scenes that passed at the retaking of Toulon, where the colonel, then aid-de-camp to General O'Hara, distinguished himself by a noble act of humanity. When the ships were burned which could not be made use of, the Themistocle, on board of which were 1600 reputed terrorists, catching fire, Colonel Heslop saved them at the peril of his life.

It was during our passage from Berbice to Demerary, that Willot and Aubry were attacked with a dangerous illness, which separated them from us. The next day they were delirious, and the physicians not only declared they could not possibly embark with us, but said they had but little hopes of their recovery. A few days after, Aubry, who could scarcely breathe, lay for dead, while Willot was apparently in the agonies of death. What a dreadful scene! what a melancholy separation. Of eight of the deported who had escaped in the canoe, only four, Pichegru,

Dossonville, la Rue, and myself, embarked on the 17th on board the English frigate the Crane, commanded by Captain Hello.

On the 20th we passed in sight of Trinidad and Tobago.

On the 22d we doubled the island of St. Vincent.

On the 24th we were off Martinico, where contrary winds prevented us from entering Fort Royal Bay. We therefore stood on for St. Christopher's, which was the general rendezvous for the Caribbee Island convoy, and where we moored on the 27th.

I had, some days before, so violent an attack of the yellow fever, that I was delirious before we got sight of Martiniço; nor did I recover the use of my reason till the 22d of August, or about a month after. I am ignorant of every thing that passed around me during this long confinement, and found myself on board the Amiable frigate,

commanded by Capt. Grenville Lobb, without the least recollection of having been removed from on board the Crane. Pichegru and Dossonville were equally ill with myself, and we all three lay in the captain's cabin, but were not able to speak to each other till about the end of August. We all owed our lives to the courage and attentions of Captain Lobb, and never did any man make so great a sacrifice with so much ease and simplicity. He never left us for a moment, and, notwithstanding the general dread of this contagious disorder, more justly feared than the plague itself, slept in the same cabin with us, and performed the lowest offices for us. When, after our long delirium had ceased, we, for the first time, perceived this hero of humanity, we were scarcely able to express our admiration of this extraordinary effort of virtue; nor could we ever prevail with him to leave us, in order to attend to his own preservation, after having been the cause of ours.

From the 36th to the 50th degree of latitude we experienced a dreadful storm, in which four ships of the convoy perished, besides the

Etrusco, which went down, after having lost all her masts.

I shall omit the particulars of this tedious voyage which continued sixty-four days.

On the 20th of September we got sight of land, and entered the Channel, where contrary to our expectation we met with light breezes and a smooth sea. We now discovered the coast of England, and soon after that of France. This sight strongly affected and agitated me, and I felt depressed with melancholy: for my heart always inclined to serious reflections. In short, I could scarcely bear the idea that I could no longer call the land beyond that horizon my country.

On the 21st of September, which was the anniversary of our departure from Rochefort, we moored in Deal Roads.

Here Captain Lobb waited on Admiral Peyton

for instructions; we were not, however, allowed to go on shore, but an account of our arrival was sent to the government.

On the 24th, the Amiable frigate, which had been much damaged during the storm, and which could no longer lie in the Road, was obliged to go round to Sheerness. We now, therefore, took leave of Captain Lobb, whose interest and recommendation had prepared us a good reception on board the Admiral's ship the Over-Yssel, to which we were removed, and of which the officers lavished on us all possible attention; as if to convince us, the noble conduct of Captain Lobb did not arise merely from his personal excellencies, but was the natural attendant and general characteristic of the officers of the British Navy.

On the 27th, the government having given orders to bring us to London, we were put on board a cutter, the captain of which loaded us with attentions. General Pichegru, who was very

ill, was removed to London the same day, where we joined him the next.

We were conducted to the house of Mr. Wickham, secretary to the Duke of Portland in the department relative to foreigners, who received us with great politeness, and expressed the concern he felt at our misfortunes. He assured us we should find, under the protection of the English government, a safe asylum, and all those kind offices which humanity owes to the victims of unexampled barbarity.

In this first conversation, Mr. Wickham expressed those wishes for peace and the emancipation of our country which he often repeated in several subsequent interviews. He told me, the next day, in particular, that he was informed of the desire I had expressed to go as soon as possible to the Continent, and that I should be furnished with such means of putting this in practice as would secure me from all risk of being taken.

On the second of October, two days after our

arrival in London, having an appointment at Mr. Wickham's, we had no sooner given in our names, than a man, or rather the skeleton of a man, whom we had observed in the corner of the room, extended his arms towards us, and, rising up, exclaimed—" Ah! my friends, you are then " saved, and all my misfortunes are forgotten." He was scarcely able to advance towards us, and we gathered round him. " I am Tilly," said he. —" Tilly! Tilly!" we exclaimed, " our deli- " verer! and yet we knew him not! but you are " so much altered!" We continued some moments in each other's arms, overpowered with emotion and bathing his hands with our tears. " Alas!" cried he, " nor I neither. Had I not " heard your names, I should not have known you." We overwhelmed each other with questions, and he was very anxious to be informed of our adventures, and the fate of his worthy Berwick; after which, he satisfied our enquiries nearly in these words:

" On the 5th of June, said he, the news of your escape arrived at Cayenne, where the joy of the

the inhabitants was universal, and so strongly expressed, that Jeannet, not daring to oppose the public opinion, said to those who spoke of it, " Why did not they all go ? "

" As yet I was suffered to go at large on my parole, about the town of Cayenne, for I was not at all suspected.

" On the 6th of June, the frigate, *la Décade*, arrived from France with 193 deported persons on board. Jeannet received his dispatches, and nothing transpired of their contents. It was only said, that several of the present deported persons, authors, journalists and priests, were on board, upon which a general consternation succeeded to the joy our flight had occasioned. About 9 in the evening, Jeannet sent me an invitation to take tea with him, saying he had some affairs of trade to talk of. As he had in my first audience appeared to blame the unjust aggressions of the Directory against the Americans, assuring me that it was with regret he executed such orders, and still more so his barbarous instruction

relative to your detention, I now waited on him with confidence on this occasion. He treated me with still more politeness than before, and when we were alone, said, " You know the news " from France, where tyranny is at its height. " Here again are more of these unfortunate de- " ported persons, sent me by the Directory. " Scarcely have eight of the former escaped, than " they are replaced by 193. I will no longer sub- " mit to be the jailor and executioner of my fellow- " citizens, in order to support those five villains " in impunity. I am determined to abandon the " colony. I shall buy your brig, which I will " restore to you at Philadelphia, if you will under- " take to carry me there."

" I thanked Jeannet for his confidence, assured him of my attachment, and encouraged him in his virtuous resolution.

" I know," replied he, " that you are an honest " man. I am acquainted with your character, and " you must have perceived by my silence, how " painful it is to me to be the instrument of crimes.

" I know that it was you that facilitated the escape " of the deported from Sinamary, yet I never re- " proached you with that action. I think, how- " ever, you ought not to have led your pilot into " these dangers."

" I now hesitated no longer frankly to answer this last overture, and not only confessed every thing we had done at Sinamary, but took this opportunity to inform Jeannet, that besides the packets I had delivered you, there were others on board my ship in a barrel, of which I mentioned the number.

" I had scarcely finished these indiscreet and fatal confessions, when Jeannet rose up in a fury, threw down the table between us, called his guard, ordered me to be seized and chained, and swore that the next day he would have me shot. In short I was conducted to the prison of the fort.

" Thus had I apparently sacrificed my life. But Jeannet dared not to complete his crime ; whe-

ther through fear of the murmurs of the inhabitants, or of losing the money, it was said he had invested in America. I was now thrown into a dungeon with irons on my hands and feet, and was allowed no food but bread and water. In this horrrid prison I passed the months of June and July, and I was even deprived of the consolation of having sacrificed myself usefully for your preservation; for I was assured you had been fallen in with and sunk by a privateer from Cayenne.

"In the night of the 1st of August I was taken from my prison, though without being liberated from my irons, and carried on board the frigate *la Décade*, which was returning to France. During the voyage I still remained in my irons, and was put into the boatswain's store-room. I now perceived that Jeannet, desirous of averting from himself the rage of the Directory, had preserved me merely to deliver me up to them, and that I was destined to glut their vengeance. The captain of *la Décade* had orders to treat me

as you had been treated; and I had no other food but bread and water.

"A high fever had almost destroyed me, and I was at the point of death, when, on the 3d of September, the frigate fell in with Commodore Pierrepont, who commanded a frigate of the same force, and attacked and took us. This worthy officer immediately liberated me, and conveyed me to Portsmouth, where I obtained permission to come to London. I am determined, notwithstanding the condition in which you see me, to return to my family, who believe I am lost; and now I have seen you, I have nothing else to wish for."

Captain Tilly had already prepared for sailing, and was come to take leave of Mr. Wickham. He passed three days with us; and we had the satisfaction of perceiving, that the certainty of our safety, that sweet recompecne for all his generous sacrifices, contributed to the re-establishment of his health.

It is unnecessary to add, that the English government have anticipated the countrymen of Tilly, in rewarding this noble action by public testimonies of esteem and consideration, and by granting him all the assistance and kind offices he stood in need of.

On us they have bestowed the most delicate attentions and the strongest proofs of kindness: nor was it possible to do this in a more amiable and pleasing manner. Of these good offices I availed myself, till my health was sufficiently re-established to cross the sea.

On the evening of the 19th of October, I took a final leave of my companions in misfortunes, and, on the 21st, embarked at Yarmouth for Hamburg, where I arrived on the 29th.

Here ends my narrative. It is not for me to instruct mankind in the science of politics, but had I sufficient talents for that purpose, I would devote them to the reconciliation of the various parties, who are interested in the restoration of

order, of morality and of public faith. By this common interest, this general sentiment, I would endeavour to appease the hatred of factions, and stop the progress of civil dissentions. Innumerable reasons offer in support of this great cause of benevolence. May those render it victorious who have more right to influence mankind. I am but a soldier, and can only offer to my country my arm and my blood: both of which shall be devoted, till my dying day, to the preservation of her independence, and the rights of my fellow-citizens.

FINIS.

PRINTED BY THOMAS BAYLIS, 15, GREVILLE-STREET, HATTON-GARDEN.

SECRET ANECDOTES

OF THE

REVOLUTION of the 18th FRUCTIDOR;

(SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1797;)

AND

NEW MEMOIRS

OF THE

PERSONS DEPORTED TO GUIANA,

WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES:

CONTAINING

LETTERS from General Murinais, Meſſrs. Barthélemy, Tronçon-du-Coudray, Laffond-Ladébat, De la Rue, &c. &c.—A NARRATIVE of Events that took place at Guiana ſubſequent to the Eſcape of Pichegru, Ramel, &c.—A PICTURE of the Priſons of Rochefort, by Richer-Seriſy—AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the Captivity and Eſcape of Sir Sydney Smith—A MEMOIRE by Barbé-Marbois, &c. &c.

FORMING A SEQUEL

TO THE

"NARRATIVE OF GENERAL RAMEL."

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1800.



Printed by S. Gosnell,
Little Queen Street, Holborn.

CONTENTS.

	Page
FRENCH Editor's Preface — —	iv
Secret Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797)	1
De la Rue's first Letter (Dec. 17, 1798) —	31
Departure of the deported Persons from Paris, and their Voyage to Guiana — — —	44
De la Rue's second Letter (Sept. 29, 1798) —	55
Situation of the Deported at Guiana — —	64
Laffond-Ladébat's first Letter — —	74
——————— *second Letter* — —	79
General Murinais's Letter — —	83
Letter from Barthélemy to a Friend in France —	86
Tronçon-du-Coudray's first Letter — —	90
——————— *second Letter* — —	91
Picture of the Prisons of Rochefort, by Richer-Serisy	95
Narrative of Events that took place at Guiana subsequent to the Escape of Pichegru, Ramel, &c. up to March 19, 1799 — — —	109
Laffond-Ladébat and Barbé-Marbois's joint Letter to the Agent — — — —	130
Arrêté of the Commandant of Sinamary —	132
*Letter from Pierre-Marie D***, Curate of St. L——, to his Father (Feb. 3, 1799)* — —	136
Barbé-Marbois's Letter to his Wife (March 19, 1799)	148
Arrival and Residence of Pichegru, De la Rue, &c. in London — — — —	151
De la Rue's Account of their Escape from Sinamary —	154
Authentic Account of the Captivity and Escape of Sir Sydney Smith — — —	159
Present Situation of the deported Persons (on the 29th August 1799) — — —	177
A Memoire by Barbé-Marbois — —	183
Appendix — — — —	209

THE FRENCH EDITOR's

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE firſt edition of the following volume was prepared for the preſs with ſo much hurry and precipitation, that all the zeal and aſſiduity of the Writers were unable to prevent ſeveral inaccuracies from creeping into the work; nor was I at that time poſſeſſed of all the information with which it is now augmented.

The prodigious ſucceſs it has obtained, muſt therefore be attributed to the intereſt excited by the unfortutunate men who are the ſubject of it, rather than to any merit the work itſelf may boaſt.

In the former edition, the chapter of *Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor* was not ſufficiently full, nor did it give a complete idea of the events of that memorable day. This chapter has now been conſiderably enlarged, and thus forms a Complete Hiſtory of a Revolution, of which it is highly intereſting and important to know both the cauſes and the effects.

In the firſt edition alſo was remarked ſome degree of confuſion in the arrangement of the materials, ariſing from the great haſte with which it was ſent to preſs. In the preſent, I have endeavoured to correct this defect, and have given the events it relates, in the chronological order of time in which they happened, and which is ſo neceſſary to be obſerved in every hiſtorical narration.

GIGUET.

SECRET ANECDOTES,

&c. &c.

SEVERAL days previous to the 18th Fructidor the moſt conſpicuous of the Deputies having met together, a member of the Committee of Inſpectors propoſed to attack the Directory, and put Barras, Reubell, and Laréveillière-Lepaux under accuſation. But the majority, conſiſting of temporizers, thus oppoſed the meaſure. "The conſtitution," ſaid one, "will ſuffice for our defence."—"The conſtitution has no power againſt the force of cannon," replied Willot, "and 'tis thus the Directory will reſiſt your decrees."—"The ſoldiers will not be for them," ſaid the temporizers. "The ſoldiers are for thoſe who command them," replied their opponents; "and if you do not decide, you are loſt."—"The attack of the Directory is too hazardous an enterpriſe," ſaid another. "'Tis not ſo much as the taking of a redoubt," replied

plied Willot with energy, "and I will undertake it." But Willot, Pichegru, and De la Rue, were treated as wrong-headed enthuſiaſts; and there the matter ended.

The next day two members of the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Director Carnot, who received them very coldly. His friend Lacuée had contrived to perſuade him that the royaliſts alone would be gainers by the intended change; and that the removal of his three colleagues was a mere pretext. Hence Carnot replied to the members of the Committee, "that he "would by no means conſent to the accu- "ſation propoſed; that he perceived royaliſm be- "hind the ſcenes, and that he had no inclination to "be hanged."

Some days before this he had ſaid to two Deputies who were urging him to a deciſion, "I will "not have any concern with it. Whenever you "attack a member of the Directory, 'tis with him I "ſhall unite."

Lacuée, one of the Directorial *obſervers*, had ſo conducted himſelf as to have nothing to fear from either party. The triumvirate owed him much, and he contributed in no ſmall degree to the miſfortunes of his colleagues.

During

During the night of the 16th, ſome members of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Committee of Inſpectors, to inform them that an Aid-de-camp of one of the Directorial Generals had juſt received orders to mount his horſe, and attend his commanding officer. The members of that Committee were ſurpriſed at this intelligence, while ſome of them laughed at thoſe who communicated it. The attack did not take place, and the next day the incredulous triumphed in their foreſight. Emmery, one of thoſe who had boaſted the moſt of their moderation, ſaid from the tribune, " that the " repreſentatives who had communicated that in- " telligence were *alarmiſts*."

'Tis ſcarcely poſſible to form an idea of the unſuſpecting ſecurity of this claſs of the Deputies. They met every night in the hall of the Council of Ancients. On the 17th every one declared his grounds of fear, or of hope. The former were innumerable and deciſive, but were rejected by the *faction of the Incredulous*. Vaublanc went ſo far as to propoſe a wager to Quatremèr, who maintained that the legiſlative body would be attacked.

It was at this time that Bourdon de l'Oiſe, who was well practiſed in revolutionary commotions, came forward amidſt the diſputants, and ſaid with

ſury and indignation, " You cannot repulſe bayo-
" nets with a ſhield of paper. I know but one
" means of defence—to go to the Luxembourg, and
" take off the heads of the conſpirators."—" He is
" drunk," ſaid ſome of the members coldly ; and they proceeded with the diſcuſſion of the merit and the power of the conſtitutional act.

The placard which the Directory intended to poſt up againſt Pichegru being preſented to him, he ſaid, " I ſhall reply to it to-morrow from the tri-
" bune."—" It will perhaps then be too late," ſaid they.—" Then," added he, " it ſhall be before the
" High Court."

At ten o'clock at night a member of the Council of Five Hundred went to conſult Barthélemy. " I
" well know," ſaid he, " that three of my col-
" leagues are plotting ſome conſpiracy ; but they
" are not ready, they can do nothing within three
" or four days." This aſſurance, which was immediately communicated to the aſſembly, was a triumph to the Quietiſts, and every one peaceably returned to his home and to his bed.

It was Merlin who ſuggeſted the plan of operations to the triumvirate, and at that time he doubted not but he ſhould, in his turn, be one day the victim of a ſimilar revolution. Reubell approved of Merlin's

lin's plan; but Barras entertained ſome fears, and left to the *Theophilanthropic* patriarch the glory of determining before him. At length Sottin determined all their opinions, by aſſuring them that the Councils were to commence the attack that very night. The character of Sottin did not correſpond with his name. He was no fool. He knew that fear itſelf made cowards brave. He recurred, therefore, to intimidation, and Barras became courageous. Sottin was of an active, enterpriſing ſpirit, and propoſed to ſhoot Carnot and forty-two Deputies, among whom were Thibaudeau and Dupont of Nemours. Laréveillère, and more eſpecially Dondeau, afterwards Miniſter of Police, conſidered this meaſure as dangerous, and dreaded its execution. They adjourned, therefore, the deciſion of their fate till after the victory.

It was alſo under diſcuſſion to ſhoot the commandant of the guard of the two Councils, Cochon, Ex-miniſter of Police, General Morgan, Doſſonville, Agent of Police, and three or four journaliſts. Reubell alſo inſiſted on Bourdon de l'Oiſe being ſacrificed. As deportation had not as yet been propoſed, they ſpoke only of impriſoning Barthélemy, and declaring his nomination void. He was to be replaced by Augereau: but the triumvirs

virs did not keep their word with him. He took his revenge on the 30th Prairial.

The conſpirators did not expect ſo eaſy a victory as they eventually obtained; Barras, therefore, reſigned to Augereau the duty of appearing at the head of the troops. Barras, it ſeems, is far from being deſtitute of prudence.

Sottin propoſed to the triumvirs to poſt up in the night of the 17th an addreſs, declaring that the Directory had only repulſed force by force, and that they had juſt been attacked by the troops of the two Councils. "That aſſertion," ſaid Laréveillère, "is but too eaſily contradicted; the peo-"ple will not believe it."—"They will believe it "for a day," replied Sottin, "and that is all we "want; what they may think after to-morrow is "of little importance." The ingenious Miniſter undertook to draw up the addreſs, and before five in the morning it was poſted all over Paris; care was alſo taken to diſperſe it over the departments.

Before the alarm-gun was fired, the triumvirate gave orders to arreſt the Directors Barthélemy and Carnot. A German Adjutant-general in the French ſervice was appointed to execute theſe orders.

Carnot preferred being himſelf vanquiſhed to conquering in conjunction with men whom he

conſidered

conſidered as royaliſts; on the one hand he had only deportation to fear; on the other, as a regicide, he imagined the gallows would be his fate. Indeed he was very near being arreſted, in which caſe he would undoubtedly have been aſſaſſinated; for the triumvirs, thinking they had cauſe to fear him, had given orders to that effect; he had himſelf taken no precautions, and was in bed when the runners ſent in ſearch of him arrived; his brother almoſt loſt his preſence of mind; but his ſervant, who was not at all diſconcerted, took a candle, declared that his maſter had gone to bed in his little apartment, and while conducting the guard thither, gave Carnot's brother time to appriſe him, and favour his eſcape. The Director fled, almoſt naked, by one of the gates of the Luxembourg garden, of which he had kept the key, but not finding it readily, his conductor was obliged to return for it, and quitted the apartment on one ſide, as the guard entered it on the other; he was, however, fortunate enough not to be ſurpriſed.

Carnot, not knowing whither to go, went at firſt to a lodging-houſe, but not finding any apartments at liberty, he determined to repair to the houſe of a friend, who had himſelf taken flight through fear of being arreſted. In the mean while

the firing of cannon was heard, and numerous patroles were parading the ſtreets; Carnot, therefore, was obliged to truſt himſelf to his friend's porter, to whom he declared his name and ſituation, and ſolicited an aſylum: the poor fellow was too much awake to ſympathy and misfortune to heſitate a moment; his lodge became the ſanctuary of hoſpitality, and the fugitive Director remained there ſeveral days without any adverſe event, till he had time to chooſe another retreat.

Carnot, then, is not dead, as the world has been diſpoſed to imagine, though his ſituation does not permit us to name the ſpot where he has ſecreted himſelf from his enemies, but we can aſſure the public that he does not repent of his political conduct; he only reproaches himſelf for his crimes; he remembers with terror, and perhaps with grief, the event of the 21ſt of January, and the remorſe he feels doubles the weight of his misfortunes.

Barthélemy did not eſcape arreſtation, though Barras had endeavoured that very evening to awaken his apprehenſions; but his indolence was ſo great that he did not take the ſmalleſt precaution: after playing a game at back-gammon he went to reſt, and was taken in his bed.

Barthélemy,

Barthélemy, though not poſſeſſed of great talents, has a very ſound judgment, and conſiderable diplomatic knowledge, though his correſpondence, however, with the Committee of Public Safety, affords juſt cauſe of reproach. He entered, it is true, on the directorial function with very good intentions; he ſhuddered at the conduct of his colleagues, and ſtill more at being aſſociated with them in office: the evening preceding his arreſtation he appeared very averſe to believe that meaſure probable; and when Carnot parted from him, the latter ſaid with a laugh, "Be not uneaſy, my dear Barthé-"lemy; they will perhaps endeavour to aſſaſſinate "me; but as to you, you are too harmleſs a man "to be dreaded; they will treat you like one of "thoſe ſhadows of kings called *Rois fainéans*; they "will ſhave your head, and ſhut you up in a "monaſtery."

Neither of them believed the blow would be ſtruck ſo ſoon. When Barthélemy was arreſted he did not indulge a moment's reflection, and had not even the preſence of mind to demand a ſight of the order of arreſtation: "Oh, my country!" were the only words that eſcaped him. Le Tellier then addreſſing the guard, aſked leave to accompany his maſter; Barthélemy could not help ſhedding

tears; and Le Tellier ardently preſſing his hand, exclaimed with the energy of exalted virtue, "No, "never, never, will I forſake you."

The members of the committee had no ſooner met, than a conſiderable force ſurrounded them, at the head of which was Augereau. Rovère and Willot were deſirous to attempt to force a paſſage through this body, holding their piſtols in their hands; but Pichegru oppoſed the meaſure. "The reſt of our colleagues," ſaid he, "have no "arms, and theſe wretches would maſſacre them; "let us not abandon them." At that moment a noiſe was heard; it was the repreſentative De la Rue, who, unwilling to ſeparate his fate from that of his colleagues, had the courage thrice to force a paſſage through the guard to join the committee. In vain had he been appriſed at his own houſe of the danger he was about to incur; he was deaf to the counſels of friendſhip; and, having embraced his wife and children in their ſleep, repaired to his colleagues. When he arrived, Pichegru exclaimed, "My dear De la Rue, what brings you hither? "we are on the point of being arreſted."—"Well," replied De la Rue, "we ſhall then be arreſted "together."

Preſently after the troops came in. "In the "name of the Directory," ſaid an Aid-du-camp of Augereau, "I arreſt you."—"Wretch," ſaid Pichegru, "how dareſt thou pronounce thoſe words?" —"Soldiers," exclaimed another member, "would "you be ſo baſe as to arreſt the Repreſentatives of "the People, or lay hands on your General, Pichegru?" On hearing theſe words they looked at each other, and dared not advance, till Augereau himſelf arrived, and undertook to execute the order of the triumvirs with the aſſiſtance of the officers of his ſtaff. Four officers fell upon Pichegru; Augereau and four others ſeized Willot; Aubry, De la Rue, and Rovère, were arreſted in like manner; in vain did they all endeavour to defend themſelves; they were forced to yield to ſuperior numbers. Rovère and Pichegru were wounded, and their clothes torn in pieces; and De la Rue, who had ſucceeded in getting hold of one of his piſtols, which he was about to point at Augereau, received a wound in the arm from a bayonet, which diſabled him, and deprived him of his weapon.

Dumas, a member of the committee of the Council of Elders, was preſent when they were firſt ſurrounded; upon which he went down ſtairs with great apparent unconcern, relying on his military

dreſs to facilitate his flight; the ſentinel declared that none could go out; "I know it," replied Dumas, "for I have juſt given the order myſelf." —"I aſk pardon, General," ſaid the ſoldier; and Dumas paſſed on without further interruption. His next difficulty was the quitting Paris, for which purpoſe he mounted his horſe, and took two of his friends with him as Aid-du-camps; the ingenious General, on his arrival at the barriers of the city, gave his orders, paſſed along the outſide of the wall under pretext of going to another poſt, and thus at length got off.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe had alſo come to the committee in the morning, and was in the hall when a ſoldier, who had doubtleſs ſerved with him under the banners of the revolution, ſeemed to take an intereſt in his fate, and endeavoured to ſave him by puſhing him rudely towards the door; which Bourdon perceiving, ſhowed an indignation that does him honour. "Your favour," exclaimed he, "humiliates me; I will not fly. Oh, my col-"leagues!" continued he, "forget my errors; I "will merit your eſteem by ſharing your fate." On hearing theſe words they fell upon him, and treated him in a barbarous manner: as he was drawing along in a cart, he was continually uttering

uttering imprecations againſt the temporizers, " who," he ſaid, " were the cauſe of this cata- " ſtrophe."

All the avenues of the Thuilleries were occupied by the troops of Augereau, and no one was permitted to enter; yet at ſeven o'clock about thirty members of the Council of Five Hundred aſſembled in their hall, to which they paſſed through the ſtables and gardens, and by ſcaling the walls in the neighbourhood. Here they were waiting for the arrival of more of their colleagues, when one of them declared that the inſpectors had been violently carried off, and that the armed force were driving the repreſentatives of the people from the hall of the Council of Ancients. Not doubting the ſame fate awaited them, the thirty deputies immediately formed themſelves into a regular ſitting, under the preſidency of Siméon.

The firſt reſolution they adopted was to ſummon the commandant of the poſt at the iron gate of the great court to their bar, to give him orders to allow free ingreſs and regreſs to the ſerjeants of the hall, who were inſtructed to collect the abſent members. This commandant was the worthy Blot, the only officer who at this time ſeems to have felt a juſt ſenſe of honour and of his duty. " I am a priſoner

" as

" as well as you," replied he, " becauſe I refuſed " to obey any orders but thoſe of my commandant; " a detachment is placed in the avenue to block " me up, together with my grenadiers." This intelligence put an end to all hopes of external communication; ſince therefore they could not poſſibly aſſemble their colleagues, they determined to take advantage of the ſhort interval that remained, to enter their proteſt in the minutes of the day.

They had ſcarcely begun when General Poinçot, accompanied by three or four officers, whoſe countenances exhibited an impudent and ferocious exultation, entered the hall by one of the ſide doors, holding in his hand an order of Augereau, which he read with an arrogance worthy of his miſſion. It was to the following effect:

" The general officer in command at the Thuil- " leries is ordered to cauſe the halls of the two " Councils to be evacuated, and not to permit any " perſon whatſoever to enter them.

(Signed) " AUGEREAU."

On hearing this paper read, a kind of electric ſenſation ſeemed to agitate all the members; they were contending who ſhould have the honour of mounting the tribune, when this tool of the tyrants told

told them "that he was a ſoldier, that it was his "duty to execute the orders of his commanding "officer, and *that he was not come thither to delibe-* "*rate.*" They now demanded a copy of the order, and as ſoon as the preſident had obtained it, unanimouſly declared, that force alone could put it in execution. Upon this the General gave a ſignal to a ſoldier, who ſtood at the door by which he had come in, and immediately a great number of armed ſoldiers entered the hall. Seeing the ſatellites of tyranny already preſſing their bayonets againſt the breaſts of the repreſentatives, Siméon, in a tone of grief, and with the utmoſt emotion, pronounced theſe remarkable words—"The rights of "the people are annihilated; the conſtitution is "trodden under foot; the national repreſentation "is baſely violated, and the hall of their ſittings "profaned by an armed force.—Until the authors "of this atrocious outrage ſhall be brought to juſ- "tice, I declare, in the name of the nation, that "the aſſembly is diſſolved*."

The

* Ramel has thrown out an inſinuation againſt the Legiſlative Body, by drawing a humiliating parallel between their conduct on the 18th Fructidor, and that of the Conſtituent Aſſembly at the Tennis-court. But what would that aſſembly have done had the

The repreſentatives, ſtill preſſed and threatened by bayonets, were driven, at length, into the great court of the Manège, but in lieu of finding the gate open, as the General had declared, they were ſtopped by more bayonets placed acroſs each other before them; and when they expreſſed their ſurpriſe at this, they were informed that orders had been given to proceed to the arreſt of ſome of them. Poinçot having ſaid a few words to one of his officers, called for the repreſentative Aubry, who immediately anſwered to his name; upon which the officer came up to him and ſeparated him from his colleagues, who were then permitted to depart.

At noon a great number of the repreſentatives having aſſembled at the houſe of one of their colleagues, who reſided in the Rue Saint Honoré, it was unanimouſly decided, they ſhould brave every danger. Each of the Councils, therefore, formed into a line, and thus they advanced to the gates of

the tyrant Louis XVI. acted with a firmneſs adequate to the audaciouſneſs of the *Republicans* of the Luxembourg? It was not now a maſter of the ceremonies that was ſent to them with a gracious meſſage, it was Augereau at the head of 10,000 ſoldiers. Mirabeau declared that the Conſtituent Aſſembly would only yield to the power of the bayonet: all the force of the bayonets was employed on the 18th Fructidor!

their

their reſpective halls. Siméon and Paſtoret, in their ſcarfs, preceded the Council of Five Hundred, and ſummoned the troops that occupied the avenues to let them paſs. On meeting with a refuſal, they ſpoke in a tone of authority, and of indignation; and the commandant, fearing his men might ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced, ordered a company of chaſſeurs to march upon the trot againſt the repreſentatives of the people. Thus in danger of being trodden under foot, they were obliged to retire with precipitation. Jourdan, however, of the Bouches-du-Rhône, braving the danger, and holding by the bars of a window, exclaimed, "Villain, thou mayſt "cruſh me to death, but thou ſhalt never make "me fly." With theſe words the ſoldier was ſo forcibly ſtruck, that he ſtopped his horſe, not daring to complete his crime.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day, more than eighty members of the Council of Five Hundred were aſſembled at the apartments of André of Lozère in the Rue-neuve-du-Luxembourg, where they drew up an addreſs to the people of France. Paſtoret and Jourdan, devoting themſelves for the honour of the national repreſentation, offered to brave every danger, and to carry it themſelves to the Directory. But ſcarcely had the mem-

bers begun to ſign it, when an armed force came to ſurround the houſe of Laffond-Ladébat in the ſame ſtreet, and there was little doubt, the houſe where they were aſſembled was their next object. Feeling, therefore, that it would be imprudent and unwiſe to deliver themſelves up, bound hand and foot, to the fury of the triumphant party, they adjourned till the next day.

The body aſſembled at the Odeon, completed their work during the night; and on the morning of the 19th, their victims were marched out, and ſpies ſent in ſearch of them. Reſiſtance now became more difficult, for it was impoſſible to concert meaſures together, or even to ſee each other. The moſt conſpicuous were obliged to ſeek a ſafe retreat; and the reſt had not ſufficient influence to form and execute any enterpriſe, even for attempting a reſiſtance to oppreſſion.

Several members of the Council of Ancients had repaired to the houſe of their preſident Laffond-Ladébat; which the armed force ſurrounded, when he was at table with his wife and family, conſiſting of ſix children, while his colleagues were deliberating in an adjoining apartment. Being informed of the arrival of the guard, and ſolicited to conceal himſelf, "No," replied he, as he roſe to preſent

himſelf to them; "they will not ſearch any further, "and my colleagues may eſcape." Unfortunately, however, they were known to be in the houſe, and were all arreſted. Madame Ladébat being taken ill with the ſudden ſhock, her huſband ſupported her in his arms, and received the laſt endearments of his children, who clung round him, and bathed him in their tears.—"My children," ſaid he, "weep "not, for your father is not guilty."

While the arreſted Deputies were conducting to the Temple, their future fate was the ſubject of diſcuſſion at the Luxembourg. Several of the conſpirators propoſed to have them ſhot immediately. Of this opinion were Sottin, Bailleul, and Reubell. Laréveillère, who, in the morning, had appeared to eſpouſe a different opinion, yielded to the ſolicitations of his colleague. But Barras ſtrongly oppoſed this meaſure, and was ſupported by Dondeau, who (from what motive, is unknown) was one of the agents of the committee. At length Guillemardet, *to put an end to the debate*, propoſed deportation, in lieu of impriſonment in Ham caſtle, as had juſt been ſuggeſted. This Guillemardet, who was a Jacobin in 1793, and afterwards, together with his friend Bailleul, was at the head of the ſocieties called *Compagnies de Jéſus*, after the 9th

Thermidor; and again, an enthuſiaſt, previous to the 18th Fructidor; was one of the principal actors in this ſcene. His friend Lacroix had told him he would one day be a great man; and accordingly, this little country ſurgeon, from Autun, is now the repreſentative of the French nation, at the Court of His Majeſty the King of Spain.

At the Temple the Deputies found Sir Sydney Smith, the man who has lately been combating Buonaparte in Egypt. "Gentlemen," ſaid that officer, "yeſterday you were members of the "government of France, and we were enemies; "to-day, ſince we are companions in misfortune, "I ſhould be happy to be ſerviceable to you." When he witneſſed their departure, he wept at their fate, and exclaimed, "Is it thus that France "rewards her defenders? your countrymen are "ſurely a very cruel nation!"—"Commodore," replied Murinais, "believe it not; 'tis not French-"men that are the cauſe of our deportation, they "commiſerate our lot; do not confound my coun-"trymen with their tyrants." Thus did the General forget his own misfortunes to become the champion of the honour of his country.

On the 18th Fructidor, this worthy old man was at his poſt at his accuſtomed hour, ignorant

of

of every thing that had paſt during the preceding night. It was not long, however, before he received the intelligence. "Your name is in the "fatal liſt," ſaid his informers; "fly, and conceal "yourſelf."—"I will endeavour," replied he, "to elude the danger; but I will not fly." He had not proceeded many ſteps before he heard the name of Murinais pronounced: "Yes, gentle-"men," ſaid he, returning, and addreſſing the perſon who came to arreſt him, "I am Murinais; "you are not miſtaken." But neither his hoary locks, the dignity of his conduct, the calm tranquillity ſo characteriſtic of unſullied innocence, nor the ſacred veneration due to age, could diſarm or change their purpoſes; and he was conducted to the priſon of the Temple.

Sottin had juſt then conducted the Director Barthélemy to that priſon. "Who is that man?" inquired Augereau, fixing his eyes on Le Tellier, who accompanied his maſter. "He is my friend," replied Barthélemy. "Doubtleſs he will not be "willing to accompany you every where?" ſaid Augereau. "I will go every where," replied Le Tellier, "with my maſter, and, if neceſſary, I will "die with him." Upon this Augereau caſt a look

of

of anger at this victim of friendſhip and fidelity, and went away ſwearing.

Worthy, amiable Le Tellier! how noble, how generous was thy conduct! By thus voluntarily ſharing the misfortunes of thy maſter, thou haſt for ever ſecured the eſteem and veneration of every one that is capable of appreciating true virtue. May thy name be handed down to poſterity, and thy great and energetic actions give repoſe to the ſinking mind, when overwhelmed with the contemplation of the crimes and ingratitude of mankind!

After repeated ſolicitations, the gates of the priſon were opened to the wives of the arreſted perſons; the fate of their huſbands was as yet uncertain. Meſdames Ladébat, Murinais, De la Rue, Rovère, and Aubry, came attended by their children: what a dreadful ſcene for thoſe unfortunate women! Every ſtep they proceeded in the courts and paſſages of this abode of horror, inflicted a new pang on their tender feelings; while inebriated ſoldiers ferociouſly inſulted their miſeries. "Thoſe "raſcals," ſaid one, "will be ſhot to-morrow."— "And I am ſure," added another, "they will "make wry faces on the occaſion." The youngeſt of them, however, requeſted them to be ſilent, ſaying

ſaying it was cruel to hold ſuch language before the wives of the priſoners; but the wretches only anſwered him with inſults.

Pichegru, perceiving the wives of his fellow-priſoners, came up to them, and taking in his arms the infant child of De la Rue, who was weeping bitterly; "Why do you cry ſo, my dear child?" ſaid the General (himſelf burſting into tears as he embraced him). "Becauſe," anſwered the child, "naughty ſoldiers have arreſted dear papa."— "You are right," replied Pichegru with indignation, and caſting a look of contempt at the guard; "they are indeed naughty ſoldiers, for good ſol-"diers would never have conſented to become "executioners." The ſoldiers themſelves ſeemed thunderſtruck with theſe words; they looked at each other, and were ſilent.

Augereau, ſeeing two of the wives of the priſoners go away weeping, ſaid with a laugh, "Theſe "women are fools to cry ſo; were they their para-"mours, indeed there might be ſome reaſon."

The minority of the Councils had aſſembled at the theatre of the Odeon and the Surgeons' ſchool. The firſt object of their attention was to draw up liſts of proſcription; a ſecretary read over the names of the Deputies, as was done on the 2d of

September,

September, in alphabetical order, and after each name the preſident took the ſenſe of the aſſembly, ſaying, " Shall he be deported?" to which his colleague in this deputation anſwered " *Yes*," and the reſt held up their hands as a mark of their aſſent and fidelity; upon which the ſecretary inſcribed the name in the fatal liſt.

When they came to that of Marc-Curtin, which the ſecretary miſ-pronounced, " Who is that?" ſaid they; " we know him not, he has never " ſpoken."—" Pſhaw!" cried a member of the deputation, " no matter; he belonged to the " League of Clichy, he muſt go with the reſt;"—and then they laughed.

The ſame ſteps were purſued with regard to the journaliſts. Bailleul, knowing the deſtined victims better than the reſt of his colleagues, was appointed to ſelect them.

When the decree of deportation was brought to the Temple, Augereau, who was there, ſaid with fury, " This is their conſtant method; they ſpoil " every thing with their moderantiſm;" and Bourdon de l'Oiſe, covering his face with both his hands, exclaimed in a melancholy tone, " Where ſhall I " find a place to lay my head?—I that have voted " for the death of my king!"

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The wives of the deported perſons waited on ſeveral of the Deputies to obtain an alleviation of their fate. "What reaſon have you to complain?" replied Jacomin, who had juſt been nominated a member of the Committee of Inſpectors: "your "huſbands will be deported, whereas they deſerved "death."—"They have been treated with lenity," ſaid another; "they ought to have been ſhot." Bailleul ſaid, with a ſmile of deriſion, that Guiana was a very good country; and there was nothing alarming in deportation. Le Hardy alone ſhowed ſome ſigns of humanity.

The wife of one of the deported waited on Merlin, hoping to move his compaſſion, by repreſenting the great age and infirmities of her huſband. She employed in his behalf that affecting eloquence which flows directly from the heart, and which women alone ſeem to poſſeſs. Merlin, indeed, for a moment, appeared ſomewhat affected; ſome tears eſcaped him, and he promiſed to comply; but when he returned to the Directory he ſoon overcame this emotion, and was the firſt to move the order of the day on his memorial. Incredible as it may appear, it is a fact, that Merlin, after having dropt two or three tears, revenged

himſelf for his humanity being thus ſurpriſed, by the rejection of the petition.

Madame Ladébat never came to the Temple, but her huſband ſaid to her, " Since you are de- " termined to take ſome ſteps, beware of ſpeaking " for me alone. Speak for all; for I will never " conſent to ſeparate my fate from that of my col- " leagues." Laffond-Ladébat was at the head of a conſiderable houſe of trade, and its failure might have ruined many other houſes. Yet even theſe conſiderations, powerful as they were, did not influence his conduct.

Two hours after their arrival in the Temple, the deported perſons viſited the apartments in the tower. " This," ſaid La Vilheurnois, who acted as their guide, " was the chamber of the unfortunate " Louis XVI.;" and Rovère raiſed his hands towards heaven, ſtruck his forehead, and retired with horror.

The deported examined with the greateſt attention the following ſentences written with a pencil on the wall of one of the apartments: " O my " God, forgive thoſe who have put my relations " to death! O my Father, look down upon me " from the heavens above! May the French nation " be happy!"—" Gentlemen," ſaid La Vilheurnois,

" by

" by theſe few words which ſhe has inſcribed, you " may judge of the greatneſs of ſoul of the daugh- " ter of Louis XVI.—" She was an angel," added the keeper: " as long as I am here, theſe lines " ſhall never be effaced."—" You are a worthy fel- " low," ſaid Pichegru; and De la Rue wrote under the words, " May the French nation be happy!" the following ſentence: " God will hear the " prayers of innocence."

The keeper treated the deported with great kindneſs, as he had always acted towards his priſoners. He was ſhortly after diſcharged.

In the evening of the 18th Fructidor, the wife of one of the deported was accoſted as ſhe left the Temple by a man ſhe did not know: " You are " the wife," ſaid he, " of one of thoſe unfortu- " nate men."—" Yes, Sir," replied ſhe, and told him the name of her huſband. " Ah, Madam," ſaid he, " he has not had time to collect together " a great ſtock of money; permit my friendſhip to " ſupply him with this trifling advance." And with theſe words he preſented her three rouleaux of louis d'ors, with a delicacy that admitted of no refuſal. " Generous man!" ſaid ſhe, " my huſ- " band can have no need of them: his friends " have already provided for him."—" Well," replied the ſtranger, " Pichegru, Willot, and the

" reſt, are not ſo fortunate. Let them accept the offer-
" ing of a ſincere friend." And with theſe words he ſlipped the money into her boſom, notwithſtanding her endeavours to refuſe it. In vain did ſhe inquire the name of this eſtimable man;—he left her without anſwering her inquiries. Worthy D**** ! in vain haſt thou endeavoured to bury thy generoſity in oblivion. Thy colleagues have diſcovered thy name, and have not been deceived in their conjectures.

An old man, a ſtranger to Madame L***, waited upon her in the morning of the 19th Fructidor, and addreſſed her in the following terms: " Madam," ſaid he, " I have promiſed your huſ-
" band my friendſhip and eſteem. Have the
" goodneſs to deliver him theſe fifty louis d'ors.
" I am unfortunate in having at preſent no more
" to offer him. Adieu, Madam; you muſt not
" feel your delicacy wounded: I am only lending
" your huſband a trifle, which he will repay me
" at his return." With theſe words the old man took his leave, without mentioning his name. His generoſity, however, ſoon betrayed him.

Pichegru, at his departure for Guiana, wept over the fate of his ſiſter, and of his poor brother, a miniſter of the Catholic religion, whom he entirely maintained,

maintained, and who were thus deprived of all their reſources and ſupport: for Pichegru was rich in nothing but in virtues. Accordingly, when he departed, he left a debt of ſix hundred livres unpaid. It was demanded of theſe two unfortunate perſons, and they were unable to retain the few remaining objects of their affection, the dreſs, the hat, and the ſword, of the conqueror of Holland. They were ſold. Theſe were the only riches of this ſimple and virtuous man. What a contraſt! The chief movers of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, now driven from their thrones, retire *to their eſtates*; while Pichegru, proud of his honourable poverty, wanders in hapleſs exile far from his native country.

Barthélemy, ſucceſſively Ambaſſador and Director of the French nation, had no other property than a farm, worth about twenty-five thouſand livres.

Willot, at the time of his proſcription, had no more than one thouſand livres; and this ſum he had lent to a man he conſidered as his friend, and who, under various flimſy pretexts, refuſed to repay his debt.

Laffond-Ladébat, entirely devoted to the intereſts of his country, had long forgotten to purſue his

his own advantage. Though he had once been poſſeſſed of immenſe property, he now left no more than would liquidate his debts; and his children, who had been brought up in expectation of opulence, have no other patrimony than the example of his probity and of his virtues.

De la Rue maintained his aged father and all his family, who were rich before the revolution, but were entirely ruined by that event; and he was even indebted to the generoſity of friendſhip for the aids he received at his departure. His worthy and reſpectable father was now inconſolable. His misfortunes however were not able to deſtroy him, and he lived in hopes of again beholding his ſon. Four months after this cruel ſeparation, he was informed that an officer of marine had arrived at Paris, who had ſeen him in the wilds of Guiana. He was exceedingly anxious immediately to ſee and to converſe with this officer; and as his ſtory muſt be intereſting to the whole family, they were all aſſembled to receive him. The worthy officer came; but the old man, overpowered with joy as he aroſe to embrace him, fell a victim to his pleaſure and ſurpriſe, and died in his arms.

Tronçon du Coudray had no revenue but his ſalary,

ſalary, and of this he was of courſe deprived before his departure for Guiana.

Almoſt all the deported perſons had long filled the firſt offices of the republic, yet on the 18th Fructidor they were ſuddenly reduced to indigence. Inhabitants of France, compare and judge!

A Letter from one of the proſcribed Deputies will throw additional light on this memorable Revolution.

De la Rue to his Friend G—— at Paris.

" Sinamary, 26th Frimaire, ſixth Year.

" My health and my courage do not fail me. " Both the one and the other are cauſes of deſpair " to our deſtroyers. They imagine that while " they at once attack our bodies by the moſt bar- " barous treatment, and our minds by depriving " us of all that is dear to us, we ſhall at length " ſink beneath the weight of ſuch an accumula- " tion of evils. The ſtrength, however, that is " derived from a pure conſcience cannot be con- " ceived by the man that is continually perſecuted " by remorſe. His hopes are extinguiſhed, and " the future offers no charms to thoſe who dread " the puniſhment of their crimes. Hence our

" daſtardly perſecutors could not have believed
" our reſignation ſo great,—they could not form
" an eſtimate of our energy: for we derived it
" from a ſource which to them is utterly unknown.
" Their rigour towards us is injurious even to
" their own plans: for we perceive in it a kind of
" barometer of their fears and alarms. Hence,
" the more ſevere they are, the more do our hopes
" increaſe; and our confidence in the courage, the
" love of true liberty, and the principles of honour
" of the French nation, gain ſtrength. We are per-
" ſuaded they already perceive the wickedneſs and
" atrociouſneſs of their tyrants. Oh, that we could
" have laid open to them the truth before our de-
" portation! Oh, that we could have proclaimed
" to them:—

" 'We have long obſerved and narrowly watched
" the manœuvres of the triumvirs to remove the
" obſtacles that oppoſed their outrageous tyranny,
" to extinguiſh the light that would have betrayed
" their ſcandalous dilapidations, and to deſtroy all
" thoſe virtuous men who were deſirous the con-
" ſtitution ſhould reſt on the only pillars that
" could ſupport it—juſtice in all its plenitude, and
" order in all its rigour.'

" Already had we detected an attempt, of which

" Hoche

" Hoche was the chief mover, and which at this
" day muſt appear demonſtrative to the moſt in-
" credulous, namely, that the troops brought to
" Paris under his orders were intended for the en-
" terpriſe afterwards executed by Augereau. My
" denunciation of that meaſure was, however, at
" that time conſidered as too ſtrong, by certain
" temporizers, who, notwithſtanding, were no
" better treated than myſelf, and who ſuffer the
" additional ſhame and remorſe of being the pri-
" mary cauſes of the calamities of their country.
" Theſe men more particularly cenſured the paſ-
" ſage wherein I repreſented, that the march of
" thoſe troops was a part of a grand plan of
" attack, formed long before, upon the pureſt part
" of the legiſlative body, and the execution of
" which was perhaps deferred only for a ſhort
" period. Yet my ſuſpicions were but too juſt,
" and we were in poſſeſſion of ſuch proofs as
" amounted to a moral certainty, a week before
" the perpetration of the crime. There were in
" the Council a vaſt number even of thinking
" men, who would not believe it without mathe-
" matical demonſtration and phyſical proof. But
" is it not a ſtrange mode of combatting conſpira-
" tors, to defer attacking them till their conſpiracy

" has broken out; that is to ſay, till no means
" exiſt for preventing its ſucceſs? A body whoſe
" whole force and moſt effectual reſiſtance reſide
" in words and in public opinion, muſt neceſſarily
" fall, unleſs they can anticipate their deſtroyers.
" Of this truth our hiſtory is one inſtance, among
" innumerable others. Yet notwithſtanding the
" difficulties we encountered at every ſtep, Pi-
" chegru and myſelf carried a reſolution that a
" Report would be made from the Committee of
" Inſpectors; and it was of importance that the
" member who was to make it ſhould have but
" few prejudices to contend with. Thibaudeau
" would have been the moſt proper perſon; but
" he refuſed. Emmery was equally indiſpoſed to
" undertake this office; and our laſt reſource was
" Vaublanc, who did not accept it till after three
" days of uncertainty. He was to have made the
" Report on the 17th; but by what fatality I know
" not, he was not ready on the day appointed.
" We demanded therefore his word of honour
" that he would complete it the next day; and
" this pledge he gave us. Thus the Report now
" became certain. The laſt determination was
" taken at half paſt one o'clock; at two the Di-
" rectory were informed of it; and at three the

" orders

" orders were given for the grand enterprise, which " was to be concealed under the pretext of a " general military exercise in the plain of Mont- " rouge. Of this, information was brought us at " half past three, at which time, our sitting not " being closed, we were desirous of taking advan- " tage of that circumstance; I therefore informed " the president, that that Committee were about to " demand a general committee, and then to invite " the Council to make its sittings permanent. He " approved of my plan, which I immediately went " to transmit to the president of the Council of An- " cients, who received it with equal satisfaction. " But perceiving that some members (who were, no " doubt, in the secret; for there were many of them) " became impatient at the length of the sitting, " he gave a signal to D***, who was a member " of the Committee, and asked him what news; " upon which D***, who was one of the incredu- " lous, but was sincere in his unbelief, replied, that " things continued just in the same state: upon " which the sitting broke up.

" The initiated party, dreading our Report, cir- " culated a rumour in the Council of Five Hundred, " that the other Council were no longer sitting, and " immediately ours separated. This disappoint-

" ment increaſed the embarraſſment of the Com-
" mittee, which adjourned at ſeven o'clock, to con-
" cert meaſures with that of the Council of An-
" cients. We had ſcarcely re-aſſembled before we
" received intelligence by various channels that
" the fatal moment was now approaching. But
" they all left us in total uncertainty as to the mo-
" ment, or even the day, when we were to expect it.
" At eleven o'clock we broke up our ſitting,
" without knowing any thing further than what
" had been told us at the Council, and every thing
" exhibiting an appearance of the profoundeſt tran-
" quillity. This circumſtance contributed in a
" great meaſure to reſtore our confidence. The
" two members, whoſe turn it was to be upon
" guard, remained alone, agreeing to inform us if
" any thing important happened. At two in the
" morning they received intelligence that the troops
" were in motion, and having convinced themſelves
" of the truth of this report, by the teſtimony of
" their ſenſes, they diſpatched meſſengers to us
" without a moment's loſs of time, and prepared
" letters of convocation for the members of the
" Councils. All our meaſures were, however,
" fruſtrated by the intervention of the armed force.
" The Committee were ſurrounded, and even ar-
" reſted,

" refied, together with ten members of the two
" Councils, who had repaired to it to learn the
" cauſe of the movements that were taking place.
" I alſo went thither myſelf, and having forced my
" way through three bodies of ſoldiers, I demanded
" to participate in the honourable fate of my col-
" leagues: to which they conſented the more rea-
" dily, as I was one of the firſt on the proſcription
" liſt. In the mean while we held out to the ſol-
" diers the Conſtitution as the only weapon we
" would oppoſe to them, declaring that they were
" thus rendered guilty of violating both the conſti-
" tution and their oaths to ſupport it; but their
" commanding officers replied, that they could obey
" no other law than the orders of the Directory.
" 'Then ſtrike,' ſaid I, at the ſame time opening
" my boſom, 'ſtrike; for it is our duty not to aban-
" don this ſpot but with our lives:—yes, be the
" aſſaſſins' (continued I, pointing to Pichegru)
" of him, under whom it has been your boaſt to
" march to victory, and bathe in his blood the
" laurels he has placed upon your brows.'—With
" this ſally, in which I was followed by all my col-
" leagues, the ſoldiers were ſtruck, and heſitated
" for a moment: which their General perceiving,
" re-animated them by ſeizing one of our number

" by the collar. Upon this, his example was fol-
" lowed by a ſcore of his men, and immediately
" above two hundred ſoldiers dragged us to the
" carriages that were in waiting for us.

" The remainder of our ſtory regards ourſelves
" alone, and not the public intereſt: I therefore
" reſerve it for a ſeparate narrative we are draw-
" ing up.

" Thus it appears, that the only error of the
" Committee, under all theſe dangers and difficul-
" ties, was, the poſtponing for four and twenty
" hours, the Report on which they had reſolved.
" This Report, however, might, perhaps, have only
" produced new misfortunes to the Committee
" themſelves, who could only have declared to the
" Council their full conviction of the fact, and
" have detailed various anonymous, though very
" certain intelligence. Thoſe members who were
" connected with the triumvirs, would have riſen
" up againſt us for having dared to accuſe, with-
" out legal proof, the firſt authorities of the great-
" eſt of crimes. We ſhould have been called *Ca-*
" *lumniators*, enemies to the conſtitution, and point-
" ed out as the only true conſpirators. The tem-
" porizers and the incredulous, among whom muſt
" be included the leading members of the Council

" of

" of Ancients, would at leaſt have taxed us with
" imprudence and viſionary deluſion; Augereau
" would equally have performed his *general exerciſe*,
" which ſerved as the veil to his military operations;
" the Directory would, in a meſſage replete with
" perfidy, have offered a ſallacious juſtification of
" themſelves, and no doubt would have brought an
" accuſation againſt the Committee; and thus the
" Council would have recompenſed our zeal and
" devotion to our duty, by paſſing to the order of
" the day, or even, perhaps, by a vote of cenſure.
" In ſhort, all France would have been convinced,
" that we had, at leaſt, made a very bungling bu-
" ſineſs of our commiſſion.

" None of theſe reflections had eſcaped us, and
" we perceived the whole danger of the ſtep we were
" taking; but we ſhould have been certain of at
" leaſt poſtponing the execution of the enterpriſe,
" and of gaining an invaluable interval of time.
" We even hoped afterwards to procure ſufficient
" proofs to open the eyes of the Councils, and of
" the nation at large. Our ſelf-love, and our in-
" tereſt, could not therefore, for an inſtant, prevail
" againſt ſuch weighty conſiderations. We had
" already made up our minds to all theſe ſacrifices,

" and

" and even to that of our lives: nor can our ſubſe-
" quent conduct leave any doubt of the truth of
" this aſſertion.

" Yet, after weighing both ſides of the account,
" I conſider the actual reſult of theſe events as for-
" tunate for our country. We, indeed, are moſt
" cruelly become the victims of this convulſion,
" but we are the only victims: all thoſe who were
" included in the ſame decree, are either concealed
" in France itſelf, or have withdrawn into neigh-
" bouring countries, and may in greater ſafety, and
" more at their eaſe, wait for the fall of this Direc-
" torial tyranny. We alone are under its laſh,
" which is ready to fall upon us on the leaſt ſignal
" from the tyrants.

" Our countrymen, a part of whom have ſuf-
" fered themſelves to be ſo much deceived relative
" to our conduct, will now learn the true object of
" that perfidious faction, and the maſs of evils our
" reſiſtance prevented. Thus they may, at length,
" decide which party acted with the pureſt inten-
" tions. Had we raiſed an armed force againſt
" them, a civil war would have been the conſe-
" quence. The ſoldiers, miſled by the calumnies
" with which the triumvirs overwhelmed them,

" would

" would have indulged in the cruelleſt exceſſes,
" and the impoſtors would again have found it
" eaſy to lay the calamities of the country to our
" charge. But we will leave it to the operation of
" time to open the eyes of the troops. The actions
" of thoſe who now deceive them, will powerfully
" concur in producing this effect; and the armies
" themſelves will ſoon unite with the reſt of the
" nation, from which ſo much pains have been
" taken to ſeparate them, to throw off this ſhameful
" yoke. Our moſt ardent wiſh is, that this may take
" place without too violent a ſhock, and more
" eſpecially without effuſion of blood.—Alas! the
" blood of my countrymen is perhaps flowing,
" even now while I am writing, eſpecially on
" the frontiers of the empire. For, it is highly
" probable, the foreign powers will no longer
" have been willing to negotiate with perjured
" governors, who have violated the laws them-
" ſelves have inſtituted, and with uſurpers
" that are unworthy of any confidence whatever.
" Hence the war will probably have been renewed
" with increaſed fury, and all the calamities that have
" already accompanied it will again pour in upon
" our devoted country, which has been too much

" exhauſted to be able to ſupport this new criſis.
" This idea in ſome meaſure embitters the conſo-
" lations we derive from the hopes of an approach-
" ing change in its ſituation, and I am more eſpe-
" cially afflicted with the idea that all I poſſeſs, all
" that ſtill attaches me to that miſerable country, is
" under the laſh of deſpots, whom circumſtances
" will ſoon furniſh with ſo many pretexts for in-
" dulging their deſtructive paſſions. Calumny
" and perſecution will now be let looſe againſt
" every one that is connected with us; but equally
" pure with ourſelves, you will, like us, riſe ſupe-
" rior to the tranſient events of the day, and the
" fury of our enemies will break their force againſt
" the reſiſtleſs force of your virtues. With ſuch
" energy you will be certain of triumphing; for
" moſt aſſuredly virtue, and an adherence to the
" principles of order and morality, will at length
" prevail.

" Adieu! I muſt put an end to this fancied
" converſation with my dear friend, for my letter
" is called for. Endeavour to conſole my unfortu-
" nate Suſan, and preſs my Emilius in thy arms.
" If I muſt, indeed, meet my fate in diſtant cli-
" mates, remind my children, that if I have fallen

" a victim

" a victim to the tyranny of men, they ought only
" to endeavour to revenge my death by exerting
" their utmoſt efforts, like their father, to be uſe-
" ful to their country.

" Embrace all our friends for me; tell them
" that nothing ſhall ever diminiſh my attachment
" to them.

(Signed) " De la Rue."

DEPARTURE FROM PARIS,

AND

VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

THE deported perſons ſet off by night for the place of their baniſhment. Murinais, ſupported by one of his colleagues, entered the iron carriage in which he was to travel, with perfect firmneſs. "You will be very uncomfortable here," ſaid Du Coudray: "Oh, no!" replied the old man, "there is comfort every where for thoſe whoſe "conſciences are at reſt." Augereau now approaching Le Tellier, ſaid to him, "For the laſt time I "adviſe you to reflect on what you are about to "engage in; are you abſolutely determined to "follow this deported man?" (pointing to Barthélemy.) "I have no need of reflection," replied Le Tellier; "I have never deſerted my maſter in "proſperity, nor will I abandon him in adverſity." —"He is a madman," ſaid Augereau; "let him "go."

"What right have you to tranſport me?" ſaid La Vilheurnois to the Miniſter Sottin: "I have "been tried, and your laws do not authorize this "arbitrary

" arbitrary meaſure,"—" *Our* laws!" ſaid Sottin, laughing; " are they not your laws alſo?"—" No, " Sir," replied he; " I do not aſſociate myſelf with " ſuch miſcreants."—" That," ſaid Sottin, " is the " very reaſon why theſe *miſcreants* ſend you to " Guiana."—" They will one day come there," added he, " and fill our places; but they will not " enjoy the ſame tranquillity with ourſelves."

The wife of one of the deported perſons, not knowing her huſband had ſet off during the night, waited on Reubell at ſeven in the morning to requeſt a reprieve. Reubell had himſelf ſigned the order for his departure; yet inſtead of correcting her miſtake, he was mean and baſe enough to promiſe the delay ſhe requeſted: thus, when ſhe went to the Temple to announce her ſucceſs to her huſband, ſhe found a note from him which diſſipated the illuſion.

The deported perſons were almoſt every where thrown into the darkeſt dungeons; at Orleans, however, they received the ſtrongeſt marks of affection and eſteem; means were even ſought to enable them to eſcape; but as they could not all be ſaved, the friends of Willot and De la Rue propoſed to furniſh them with the means of ſafety; this, however, they refuſed without heſitation, fearing

fearing thereby to aggravate the misfortunes of their colleagues; and Barbé-Marbois, Pichegru, La Vilheurnois, and Aubry, imitated their generous example a few days after.

Pichegru had three different opportunities of eſcaping. At Blois he received a note in the following terms: "General, it is in your power to "quit the priſon where you are confined; a horſe "is ready for you to mount, and you may eſcape "by aſſuming another name, in which a paſſport "ſhall be provided: if you accept the propoſal, "approach the guard as ſoon as you have "read this note, and wear your hat as a mark of "your acquieſcence; in that caſe be dreſſed and "awake at two o'clock in the morning." Pichegru, however, approached the guard without his hat; the perſon who would have ſaved him, beheld him with admiration, and went his way.

Madame Barbé-Marbois came from Metz, as far as Blois, where, after a very long journey, ſhe obtained permiſſion to ſee her huſband. She found the deported perſons in the moſt deplorable condition, and devoted all her care to procure ſome alleviations for their miſeries. On her arrival at Paris, ſhe threw herſelf at the feet of the tyrants, and burſt into tears. They promiſed

every

every thing ſhe aſked, and Merlin aſſured her he would ſend a courier with freſh orders. Yet no change was made in thoſe already given, and the deported perſons continued their route overwhelmed with the moſt ignominious treatment.

When Madame Barbé-Marbois left the priſon of Blois, an officer of gendarmerie offered her his hand, upon which General Du Tertre, commandant of the eſcort, ordered this worthy and feeling officer under arreſt, and a few days after caſhiered him.

This Du Tertre, who had but recently been liberated from the gallies, had been appointed by Augereau to take charge of his victims. This man pocketted the money entruſted to him for their travelling expenſes, and plundered them in the moſt ſhameleſs manner. Two months previous to its fall the old Directory ſeemed to recollect this robbery. Du Tertre was arreſted, and ordered to give an account of the monies he had received, but he only replied by *Jacobitiſh* declamation; and Augereau having made an application in his behalf, he was liberated after a fortnight's impriſonment.

Rovère's wife, then in the eighth month of her pregnancy, followed her huſband to Rochefort, where

where ſhe unfortunately arrived too late, the corvette having already ſailed. This excellent woman, in even her delicate ſituation, afforded a rare example of conjugal tenderneſs. O you, that might incline to judge too ſeverely of her conduct, hearken to the voice of candour, and ſuſpend the ſeverity of your deciſions. Madame Rovère, it is true, was formerly divorced—but had you been witneſſes of her dauntleſs fortitude and affectionate attachment, you would forget her errors, and convert your cenſure into admiration. Men of generoſity and worth! women of ſenſibility and virtue! ye whoſe boſoms heave with the ſacred impulſes of nature, and ſwell with the reciprocities of affection, ah! if ye have experienced the delights or the torments of love, if his reſiſtleſs fire ever melted your ſouls, come and weep over the fate of this hapleſs lover! 'Tis you alone I addreſs—let thoſe who are dead to ſenſibility, be deaf alſo to my pleading.

Rovère's wife, as I have already ſaid, arrived at Rochefort when the corvette had juſt ſailed. She now wildly beheld that ocean which divided her from the only object of her love.—She could no longer contemplate his cheriſhed features, nor hang upon his accuſtomed voice. For a moment

her fancy ſeemed to perceive the veſſel that bore him from her view, and her ſoul ſeemed ready to ſtart forth and take its flight to mingle with that of her beloved huſband.

Two months paſſed on without receiving any news from him: this was a dreadful interval of anxiety and of horror! In vain did ſhe, together with her unfortunate companions, implore the pity and compaſſion of the tyrants, for information whither they had ſent him. Tyrants are inacceſſible to thoſe tender feelings.

At length, however, a letter from her huſband arrived, and ſhe learnt that Cayenne was the country that held him. Inſtantly the deſerts of Sinamary aſſumed the ſmiling charms of nature's richeſt ſcenery, and at Sinamary ſhe determined to fix her abode, and participate in his fate.—Deaf to every motive that diſſuaded her from ſo bold an enterpriſe, her only happineſs was beyond the ſeas; and the wilds of Guiana ſeemed to her more deſirable than the poſſeſſion of the univerſe. Her unexampled courage ſeemed to nerve the minds of every one around her; her female attendants, the nurſe that foſtered her child, her aged footman, no one would conſent to deſert her. At length ſhe yielded to their entreaties, and they all ſailed for Guiana. The veſſel in which they ſailed

was taken by the Engliſh—but the Engliſh reſpected her misfortunes. The motives of her voyage being explained, inſtead of treating her as an enemy, they generouſly offered her the beſt and ſureſt means of arriving at the place of her deſtination.—Thus once more ſhe embarked with a ſerene ſky and a tranquil ſea, and all things ſeemed to whiſper that every peril was at an end. But the Almighty, who looks down from the heavens above, and accepts the repentance and remorſe of his creatures here below, yet extends not impunity beyond the bounds of juſtice and mercy. Rovère was now in momentary expectation again to embrace his beloved wife, again to preſs his children to his boſom in Tranſatlantic exile, and thus all his ſuffering ſeemed to be brought to a cloſe. But he had been guilty of too many crimes to be thus rewarded. The pardon, for which he breathed forth the ſigh of repentance from the bottom of his heart, demanded a ſtriking atonement. The gates of Eternity were about to be opened to him, and it was neceſſary he ſhould firſt meet ſome exemplary puniſhment for his crimes. His wife arrived, and Rovère, knowing ſhe would land on the ſhores of Cayenne, went eagerly to meet her, and throw himſelf into her arms: but the

Divine

Divine juſtice was heavy upon his head; the hand of God ſtruck him, and he ceaſed to exiſt.

On the arrival of the deported perſons at Rochefort, they were immediately embarked. In vain did they ſolicit a few hours delay to receive the neceſſaries their friends were bringing them. Their jailors were inflexible; and they ſet ſail without the moſt requiſite accommodations. An hour or two after their departure, the ſon of Laffond-Ladébat and the brother-in-law of De la Rue (Neuville) arrived. The corvette had already made conſiderable way, and was no longer in ſight. The two youths were now quite inconſolable; and even the ſailors of Rochefort were ſo much affected as to weep at their misfortunes. They flattered them, however, that a ray of hope ſtill remained. "The "ſea is very rough," ſaid they; "the wind is "contrary for the corvette, and ſhe muſt caſt "anchor at a certain diſtance from the ſhore. "You may therefore ſtill have an opportunity of "boarding her." This propoſal was inſtantly ſeized with avidity. But a new obſtacle now preſented itſelf: they could not board the corvette without a permit from the Director of the Marine, who was then at Rochelle.

Without further loſs of time, however, one of

the youths repaired thither, and ſolicited a permit; but was anſwered, that the deported had already got out to ſea, and that they had certainly not brought to. Upon this he applied to the ſailors, who conſulted the weather with the ſame friendly wiſhes with thoſe of Rochefort, and concurred in the ſame opinion. The Director of the Marine, therefore, no longer refuſed, and the permit was granted.

Neuville now returned to Rochefort; and, together with young Ladébat, was eager to embark. But a cruel fatality ſtill purſued them: for the ſea was extremely rough, and the danger ſeemed very great. In vain did the ſailors endeavour to diſſuade them: they perſiſted in their object; till at length a boatman, influenced by the love of gain and the earneſtneſs of their entreaties, took them on board his little bark. At their departure, a great number of perſons crowded round them; one to ſend fifty louis d'ors to Willot, another to convey a rouleau to Pichegru, and a third (making no diſtinction of perſons) to alleviate the fate of all the deported. All kinds of aids were offered them; but their boat would ſcarcely contain what was abſolutely neceſſary. At length it left the ſhore, watched by the eyes of the beholders with the moſt lively intereſt, while

while hope ſeemed to waft the two friends on the waves. At length they perceived the corvette, and their hearts rebounded with joy. But when they got within hail they were ordered not to approach. Upon this, though they were forced to lie down in the boat, to avoid the waves that broke over them, they roſe, and held up a paper, to ſhow they had a permit to board the corvette. To that ſignal however they only received this cruel anſwer: "*If "you approach the corvette I will fire on you. Come "on board of me.*" The voice proceeded from the lugger that accompanied the corvette. They went on board; and, having delivered their money and other preſents, they were ordered to go back. In vain did Laffond-Ladébat, who from the cockpit heard his ſon's voice, ſolicit permiſſion to ſee him, and preſs him to his boſom. In vain did the affectionate youth beg upon his knees to ſee his father. In vain did he exclaim, "Let me at leaſt receive "his bleſſing." He was coldly anſwered in theſe words: "*Return to Rochefort.*"—The poor ſailor who conducted them made for land, his eyes overflowing with tears; while the two youths, ſtill fixing theirs upon the corvette, ſought to meet thoſe of an affectionate father, a virtuous friend.

In the mean while, the deported flattered themſelves

ſelves with hopes of a ſpeedy return to their native country; and one of them wrote the following lines during the paſſage, addreſſed to the hoary-headed General Murinais, whoſe health was already conſiderably impaired:

AIR.—*Femmes, voulez-vous éprouver.*

Malgré nos cruels ennemis,
Nous reverrons un jour la France;
Pour vos parens, pour vos amis,
Conſervez bien votre exiſtence.
Ah! puiſſent nos ſoins aſſidus
Long-tems prolonger votre vie!
Vous devez encore vos vertus
Et vos talens à la patrie.

IMITATED.

In ſpite of cruel-hearted foes,
Again our homes ſhall glad our ſight;
Thy friends', thy kindred's deep-felt woes,
To cheriſh lingering life invite.
Ah! may our tender anxious cares
Thy valued days, thy years prolong!
Each breeze to thee wafts Gallia's pray'rs,
To her thy virtues ſtill belong.

Theſe lines drew tears from the eyes of the worthy General.

The affecting letter which De la Rue wrote to his wife from on board La Vaillante will give ſome idea of the dreadful ſituation of the deported on board of the corvette.

Letter from De la Rue to his Wife.

" From the 7th Vendémaire to the 18th Brumaire, in the Year VI.

" No, my deareſt wife, no baniſhment, no im-
" paſſable deſert, can ſeparate two ſouls whoſe
" union is formed by love and eſteem, and ce-
" mented by the moſt perfect ſympathy. Hence
" my fortitude was equal to bearing all the attacks
" of adverſity, as long as I could indulge a hope
" of our performing this fatal voyage together.
" This alone, added to the teſtimony of a pure
" conſcience, gave me that ſtrength of mind which
" has aſtoniſhed even my companions in misfor-
" tune. But I confeſs that, from the moment when
" our ſudden embarkation, which was performed
" with equal abruptneſs and ferocity, deſtroyed
" this ſoothing hope which we ſo fondly cheriſhed,
" my energy has deſerted me; and every moment

" that

" that increaſes the diſtance between us, is an
" additional affliction. Would that every day's
" reckoning of our log-book were an equal ad-
" vance towards the tomb! for there alone can I
" find repoſe, or a period to the ſufferings I en-
" dure. Two days it ſeemed to be yawning be-
" neath my feet. Ah! why did it cloſe without
" ſwallowing me up? The elements, rebelling
" againſt the commands of the tyrants, have thrice
" brought us back within ſight of port; thrice
" have they, by the moſt dreadful ſtorms, made
" our captain repent of his raſhneſs in braving the
" equinoctial hurricanes; and it is to this obſtinate
" reſiſtance to his will that I am indebted for the
" receipt of your letter. How grateful am I to your
" brother for his zeal in bringing it to me! Wor-
" thy Neuville! he has braved a thouſand dan-
" gers to communicate the laſt conſolations of
" friendſhip. Among the objects for which I am
" indebted to his activity, although all are objects
" of the moſt urgent neceſſity, I only looked for,
" I only beheld, I only eagerly inquired for,
" your letter. It was the tardy reward of three
" days of ſolicitation and of deſpair. A barbarous
" order deprived us of every thing that was brought
" for our conſolation or relief, until, having got

" out

" out to open ſea, we had no means of communi-
" cation with the ſhore. We were in the latitude
" of the coaſt of Spain when I obtained this letter,
" for which I ſo eagerly panted. To that boon I
" ſacrificed every other object; nor indeed was it
" poſſible to pay for it ſufficiently dear. The
" captain choſe to retain poſſeſſion of all the reſt
" till we ſhould arrive.

" How many times have I not read over and
" over this kind, this affecting letter! With how
" many tears have I not bathed it! Yes, all my
" unfortunate companions bathed it too in theirs.
" Every day, every hour, and every minute, I recur
" to it for conſolation; yet I fear only to find in
" it new cauſe of grief and of regret. The greater
" the tenderneſs and energy with which it pour-
" trays your ſenſibility and attachment, the greater,
" the more elevated your mind appears, the leſs
" am I able to bear the horrors of a ſeparation.

" You cannot form to yourſelf an idea of all we
" ſuffer in every poſſible way, and eſpecially in
" regard to food and lodging. Crowded, all ſix-
" teen of us, into a ſpace eighteen feet by thirteen,
" our hammocks are ſo cloſe to each other, that
" when any one of us moves it diſturbs and ſhakes

" all the reſt; and the lowneſs of the deck above
" us, which is but four feet high, expoſes us to an
" additional torment: for into this cavern, armed
" with beams, againſt which we knock our heads
" a hundred times a day, no air is admitted, but
" by an aperture two feet ſquare in the upper deck,
" and which ſerves at once for door and window.
" The only ſteps are a poſt with notches two
" inches deep; and thus are the old and the infirm
" obliged to crawl up and down, at the riſk of
" every moment breaking their limbs, if the
" ſtrongeſt of us did not frequently receive them
" in our arms, and give them continual aſſiſtance.
" Fortunately, our tyrants are not ſtrictly obeyed.
" It was their intention that we ſhould not quit
" this mephitic cavern for more than two hours
" per day, and they hoped to crowd us into it to
" the number of thirty-ſix. The whole crew ex-
" pected that number; for it had been ſo an-
" nounced ſome days previous to our departure
" from Paris. This outrage had therefore been
" long before reſolved on, and its perpetrators had
" calculated on a greater number of victims.
" Had their intentions been completed, the plague
" would certainly have broken out in our dun-
" geon,

" geon, which will doubtleſs become a burning
" furnace whenever we arrive within the tropic.

" Our manner of living is, if poſſible, accom-
" panied with ſtill more atrocious barbarities; not
" ſatisfied with putting us on the allowance of
" galley convicts, the crew were ſuffered to want
" the moſt indiſpenſable neceſſaries for a voyage;
" they are kept upon the moſt unwholeſome and
" the moſt damaged proviſions; no oppreſſion of
" this kind has been omitted. Biſcuit five years
" old, and rejected by every other ſhip, is our
" chief food; and beans of the kind uſually given
" to horſes, half boiled in corrupted water, are
" our moſt delicate diſh. This regimen has, as
" you may eaſily imagine, much increaſed the
" evils of ſea-ſickneſs, which none of us eſcaped;
" I am among thoſe who ſuffered the leaſt, owing
" to the good ſtock of health I poſſeſſed, and to
" my habitual temperance. We ſhould certainly
" have all of us ſunk under this accumulation of
" evils (and that was doubtleſs the ſecret intention
" of the inſtructions given), had not the crew,
" and more eſpecially the officers, been moved
" with compaſſion for our condition; the reſigna-
" tion and dignity of our conduct diſarmed them,

" and at length they began to appreciate facts and
" perſons more juſtly, and to diſcover who were the
" true culprits in the events of which we were the
" victims. From that time we received all the aſſiſt-
" ance and alleviation in their power, which, how-
" ever, was unfortunately confined within very
" narrow limits; deſtitute themſelves of the moſt
" needful conveniencies, owing to the precipita-
" tion of our departure, their good will towards
" us was very often without effect; we received,
" however, more aſſiſtance from the ſailors, who
" in general are better able to endure privations,
" and the majority of whom gave up to us their
" ſlender ſtock of proviſions. It is true theſe in-
" dulgences were a conſiderable charge upon our
" purſes, but it would be ungrateful to complain,
" for the ſervices we received from them were
" invaluable. Of theſe the moſt important to me
" were a pound of bread per day, and a few glaſſes
" of wholeſome water; to this, and to a few
" morſels of cheeſe, againſt which my natural
" antipathy in vain rebelled, I am indebted for
" the preſervation of that life which I reſerve to
" contribute to your happineſs, and which I ſtill
" value on your account, and on your account
" excluſively.

" Endeavour

" Endeavour ſpeedily to let me poſſeſs a portrait " of you, for my eyes are envious of my heart, " where your image is conſtantly preſent; I do " not aſk for that of our children, as they are ſo " young that their features will not long retain " their preſent form; but I hope you will indulge " me with a ring of the dog's-collar kind, orna- " mented with your hair and that of thoſe dear " little creatures. If you would ſtill enhance the " favour, you will add a ſecond ring with your " mother's hair, together with my father's and " mine; to theſe preſents, which are the moſt " invaluable I can receive, you may add ſome " pecuniary aid, provided your own occaſions, " thoſe of our children, and of my father and " mother, which I would ſee firſt ſatisfied, will " permit. You will purſue the ſame ſteps as " Meſdames Laffond, Rovère, and Aubry, who, " perhaps, will prefer ſending ſuch merchandiſe as " may be eaſily diſpoſed of in the colony; theſe I " will mention to you, if a letter on that ſubject " can be ſent by the ſame opportunity, as ſoon as " I ſhall have landed, and ſeen the nature of the " country whither we are going.

" I ſhould never conclude if I gave a looſe to " all the emotions I feel; now that I am liberated

" from

" from every purſuit of buſineſs, my imagination
" is ever buſied with you alone, and without inter-
" miſſion; but with you every pleaſure is departed,
" and I am even deprived of that of which ſcarcely
" any victim of misfortune is robbed, and which
" from time to time ſuſpends their ſufferings, for it
" is but by ſtealth that I can commit my thoughts
" and my ſorrows to paper; and this letter, which,
" notwithſtanding the innumerable precautions I
" have taken for its ſecurity, will, perhaps, never
" reach you, is written, as you will eaſily per-
" ceive, at twenty different times; had I purſued
" any other method, I ſhould in a ſingle minute
" loſe the fruits of a month of vigilance.

" Adieu! my charming friend, adieu! with
" what pain do I trace the word! perhaps, too,
" for the laſt time I ſhall ever write it! Ah! let me
" baniſh the heart-rending idea! ah! let not our
" correſpondence ever ceaſe, except it be by thy
" preſence in an hoſpitable country, where, having
" eſcaped the power of the wicked, we may be
" again united in the bonds of love. Receive,
" as the pledge of this my ardent wiſh, a thou-
" ſand imaginary kiſſes, impreſs them on the lovely
" cheeks of your dear little children, and tenderly

" embrace

" embrace for me my ſiſter-in-law and your bro-
" thers, and expreſs my ſincere gratitude to all
" thoſe who take any intereſt in my fate. Let our
" friend often ſee N. M——, the worthy Dau—,
" R—— Dal—— Card——, and particularly
" B—— V——; tell him to remember me to
" L—— B—— Cl—— A——.

(Signed) " DE LA RUE."

THE

THE

SITUATION OF THE DEPORTED AT GUIANA.

BY ONE OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS.

AMONG the various intellectual improvements that have ſprung up with the progreſs of ſcience and philoſophy, the ſyſtem of criminal legiſlation ought to have undergone ſuch a reform as would have proved equally beneficial to the intereſts of the accuſed and the tranquillity of the public. Of ſuch a reform, the principles have already been laid down by various philoſophical writers (and in particular the celebrated Beccaria), who have deduced them from the eternal laws of juſtice and of reaſon: all, therefore, that remained to be done, was to apply theſe principles to practice in the code of criminal juſtice.

The true object of all puniſhments is the ſecurity of the body politic, and of all its component parts; the maintenance of order and juſtice, and the improvement of the morals of the people.

Puniſh-

Puniſhments ſhould not only be proportioned to the nature of the crimes committed, but muſt alſo be previouſly declared by the law before they can be juſtly inflicted; nor ought this to take place till after a trial, the preſcribed forms of which are calculated to be the guardians of innocence and the avengers of crimes.

Theſe principles, which conſtitute the very baſis of ſocial order, have already been ſufficiently demonſtrated; and can neither be denied nor forgotten without burſting aſunder every bond by which human ſociety is held together.

I will not, therefore, here attempt to pourtray the innumerable inſtances in which theſe ſacred principles have been violated. Woe to that nation where the laws are dictated by the factions that convulſe it, merely according to the dictates of their revenge, or of their own unruly paſſions! for there will innocence ſhrink with horror, and the criminal redouble his audacious effrontery.

The deportation to the French territories in Guiana, ſubſtituted by the Convention for the penalty of death, which ſome of their members had incurred, was only applied in the caſes of Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois; the reſt of thoſe

who were then accuſed eſcaped this new mode of puniſhment, and eluded the decree by which it was enacted.

As the Convention united in itſelf all the power of the ſtate, it purſued no other rule than its own ſovereign will, and pronounced ſentence of baniſhment, deſtruction, or death, according to the paſſions which for the time predominated at their deliberations. Billaud, Collot, and the reſt of the perſons who were implicated, were accuſed and were heard in their defence; yet they themſelves proteſted againſt this violation of the power with which they, in common with their colleagues, were inveſted.

Collot and Billaud were deported to Guiana; Collot died at Cayenne, but Billaud-Varennes is ſtill living. Both theſe men were treated with great ſeverity during their paſſage, and their captain was not more humane towards them than was Captain La Porte towards us; but on their arrival at Guiana they enjoyed, the former till his death, and the latter to the preſent time, the ſame fare as is given to the marines, and an allowance fully adequate to their wants; further, no reſtraint was required of them, and an order of the Directory

particu-

particularly enjoined their agents and the conſtituted authorities in no wiſe to infringe on their full liberty within the French territories in Guiana *.

At firſt ſight, the ſubſtitution of deportation for death, appears an act of beneficence; their lives are ſaved, and conſequently ſome hopes remain of ſeeing better days; they may apply to various uſeful occupations, and thus they may ſtill endeavour to advance their own fortunes and thoſe of their country. Such are the colours under which deportation to Guiana has been repreſented to the nation, both at the tribune of the Legiſlative Body, and in the proclamations and orders of the Directory.

But it is time theſe unſubſtantial illuſions ſhould be diſſipated; firſt, by a few general obſervations, and ſecondly, by a ſimple ſtatement of the actual ſituation of the deported in this diſtant colony.

When men of vigorous minds and conſtitutions, and in the flower of life, have committed ſuch crimes as are deſerving of capital puniſhment, deportation is doubtleſs an act of clemency; but then they ought not to be ſent to a colony eſtabliſhed

* Extract of an order of the Directory of the 24th Brumaire, in the year 4.—"Art. III. The agents of the government are ex-"preſsly enjoined to permit the Ex-deputies Collot d'Herbois and "Billaud to enjoy full liberty in Guiana."

for purpoſes of agriculture and commerce, ſince they might diſturb the tranquillity of the planters with ſo much the more eaſe, as the repreſſing power is leſs active there than in the mother-country: hence, too, they might the more eaſily diſperſe abroad the ſeeds of their own vices and crimes. In this point of view, the deportation of criminals to a colony already in exiſtence, is a violation of the guaranty which is due from the body politic to its foreign planters, as well as to all its other conſtituent parts: thus the ſyſtem of deportation might more eſpecially have produced moſt diſaſtrous conſequences to thoſe colonies, where the laborious claſſes have been lately emancipated; where the firſt enjoyment of liberty, as repreſented to, and experienced by them, conſiſts merely in licentiouſneſs, in the deſertion of their labours and duties, and in giving an unbounded looſe to paſſions; to colonies whoſe defective ſyſtem of legiſlation, inceſſantly changing and incoherent, and either impoſſible to be executed, or not actually enforced, has as yet ſcarcely exceeded a few ineffectual regulations of police, wholly inſufficient to re-eſtabliſh the regular purſuits of labour, or to accompliſh the repreſſion and puniſhment of crimes.

Such

Such is the ſituation of the French colony in Guiana, notwithſtanding the deluſive repreſentations with which the Legiſlative Body have been amuſed.

Further, deportation to a country whoſe climate is deſtructive to its inhabitants, is but a mode of ſentencing the unfortunate victims to a lingering and painful death, and to a tedious prolongation of the ſtruggles of diſſolution: thus cruelly to multiply the pangs of dying, is, in fact, no other than to condemn them to a thouſand deaths.

Criminals, then, who are condemned by the law, ought to be deported only to a colony appropriated ſolely to that object, in a climate not deſtructive to its inhabitants, and where ſevere but juſt laws will induce them to adopt a life of induſtry, and to reform their characters. Puniſhment and terror are the vital principles of tyranny *. But the prevention and the correction of crimes, and the rendering even the criminal uſeful to his country—this alone ſhould be the end propoſed in a criminal ſyſtem of juriſprudence, under a Government inſtituted by juſtice and formed by wiſdom.

* See on this ſubject the Report of Bailleul, on the 18th Fructidor.

In ſuch a colony every inſtitution ought to be directed to the correction of the criminals themſelves. Specific rewards ſhould be held out to them, not even excepting liberty to return home after a certain period of good behaviour and of uſeful induſtry.

Such were the views of the Britiſh Legiſlature in eſtabliſhing the colony of Botany Bay.

But to deport the members of the National Repreſentation without ſentence, trial, or accuſation; to deport Prieſts, and old and infirm men, merely on account of their religious opinions; to deport men of letters and journaliſts, when the liberty of the preſs and of public cenſure ought to have been the pledge of their inviolable ſecurity; to deport men whom no exiſting law condemned, and to deport them to a colony where the atmoſphere is corrupted by a ſtagnant and defective cultivation, where none but blacks can endure the ſlighteſt labour and fatigue, and even to place them in the moſt unhealthy ſpot of that colony, and confound them with criminals actually condemned to death or to the gallies, is at once to violate the conſtitution, the liberty which forms its baſis, and every

principle

principle of ſocial order, of humanity, and of juſtice.

Such, however, was the character and effect of the law of the 19th Fructidor, and of the orders given for putting it in force, whether by the Directory and their miniſters, or by their agent in the French colony of Guiana.

Sixteen of the perſons proſcribed by that law, were, on the 21ſt Fructidor, put into cages conſtructed of gratings, and thus conveyed from the priſon of the Temple to the port of Rochefort, traverſing France as though they had been the vileſt of criminals. The commandant of the eſcort received the requiſite ſupplies of money for their ſupport and other expenſes on the road: but to entruſt ſo delicate a commiſſion to a baſe and immoral character, to place theſe funds in the hands of a man recently liberated from the gallies of Toulon, was effectually to preclude all poſſibility of the money being applied to the ſacred purpoſe for which it was deſtined; it was, in fact, to order that the deported ſhould be left deſtitute of every requiſite comfort and accommodation. This order, alas! was moſt cruelly put in force: for in every town we were thruſt into the

the darkeſt dungeon, and fed on the coarſeſt of food.

At length, crowded one upon another, in the between-decks of a corvette, we had no other food, during a moſt dreadful voyage of fifty-two days, than the refuſe biſcuit of the convicts on board the Rochefort gallies, ſome ſpoiled meal, wild beans (called Gourgannes), and ſtinking water. But to every complaint the Captain replied, "*If I execute the orders I have received, thoſe* "*villains will not all of them arrive at Guiana.*"

At length we landed at Cayenne, almoſt all of us ſick. Here we expected to enjoy our full liberty; but in this we were diſappointed. We were ſent to the hoſpital, and placed under a guard of ſoldiers, without being permitted to go out, except into an adjoining field; nor were we allowed to receive any viſitors. We obtained, however, all the accommodations which the kind-hearted women who ſuperintended the eſtabliſhment could procure us; and the inhabitants were eager to give us the moſt affecting proofs of the concern they felt for our misfortunes. Theſe few days were to us an interval of the ſweeteſt conſolation.

We

We were ſoon informed, however, by Jeannet, the Agent of the Directory, that he was about to ſend us to Sinamary, a ſettlement ſituated about twenty-five leagues to the north-weſtward of Cayenne, on the river of Sinamary, and ſomething leſs than a league from the ſea.

The order for this ſecond tranſportation was not ſent to us, nor was it till after our arrival at Sinamary that it was communicated to us. (See Appendix, No. 1.)

We were told that Sinamary was the healthieſt ſpot in the colony. But previous to our departure, Laffond-Ladébat, and Tronçon-du Coudray, wrote to the Agent, repreſenting that the law of the 19th Fructidor, and even the order of the Directory, appointing that we ſhould be deported to Guiana, did not direct that we ſhould be kept priſoners there, and that therefore they had a right to their full liberty. They might alſo have appealed to the order in favour of Billaud and of Collot; but their feelings, and the purity of their own conduct, compelled them to reject all compariſon of themſelves with thoſe too famous members of the Committee of Public Safety. Laffond-Ladébat's letter was couched in the following terms:

" We have been informed that it is your inten-
" tion to fix our abode at Sinamary. Were our
" exiſtence alone to be conſidered, we ſhould have
" cauſe to thank you for this choice; but, as to
" myſelf, I think it my duty to offer you a few ob-
" ſervations.

" The decree which condemns us to deportation,
" allows us, as I have already obſerved, the free
" diſpoſal of our property from the time of our ar-
" rival at the place of our deportation. But this
" permiſſion would be a mere mockery, if we are
" to be ſo ſituated that it would be impoſſible to
" exerciſe it. I am ignorant what orders you may
" have received, but I have reaſon to believe
" Guiana is ſpoken of generally, and therefore our
" particular abode ought to depend on the kind of
" induſtry we may be deſirous of purſuing.

" I will not here ſtate how little connected, or,
" rather, how totally diſconnected we ſhall be.
" The contrariety of our opinions has already been
" ſufficiently apparent: you have been informed
" of it by the public prints. Time will throw more
" light on that ſyſtem of policy which has con-
" founded us together. Equals in misfortune, we
" have all an equal right to that liberty which
" the law has given us, as ſoon as we are arrived

" at

" at the place of our deportation; but nothing " can juſtify our being here united, except the " ſpecies of induſtry we are deſirous of under- " taking.

" To me, for inſtance, who have it in my " power, through my commercial connexions, to " be ſerviceable to the colony, it is important to " be ſituated in the only port where foreign trade " can be carried on: and this is the plan I have " formed. Marbois, Murinais, Tronçon-du- " Coudray, Barthélemy, and myſelf, had even, " previous to our quitting France, determined on " a project of a partnerſhip, in which we intended " to have included the cultivation of ſome planta- " tion of which we meant to apply for a grant or a " leaſe upon rent.

" Such having been our intentions, Citizen " Agent, it is highly probable thoſe of our friends, " who are apprized of them, may already have ex- " pedited us ſome conſignments.

" But our baniſhment to Sinamary condemns us " to a real impriſonment, fruſtrates all our plans, " and reduces us to the wretched condition of " being unable to purſue any uſeful ſpecies of in- " duſtry.

" At firſt I heard of a plantation belonging to " the State, and ſituated near the town, which " ſeemed completely adapted to our views. I " would have taken a leaſe of it upon rent, and " engaged to keep it in good condition; and we " would, all of us, have eagerly ſubſcribed any " engagements your vigilance might have deemed " neceſſary. This vigilance, I imagine, would " itſelf be thereby rendered more eaſy and ſecure, " and the nature of our purſuits would be a ſuf- " ficient pledge for our good conduct, if the wel- " fare of our families, and the free enjoyment of " our property, are not alone completely ſatisfactory. " It is the intereſt of the State that the deported " perſons be not a uſeleſs burden upon the colony, " but, on the contrary, that they ſhould give ad- " ditional vigour and activity, both to its com- " merce and agriculture, by all the means they " can combine together for that effect. I would " alſo add, that the ſituation of Sinamary is not " free from danger, both to us and to yourſelf, as " far as regards your reſponſibility, ſince it is liable " to be attacked by Engliſh privateers, and ſome " attempts of that nature have already been " actually made.

" I hope,

"I hope, therefore, Citizen Agent, that you "will ſeriouſly weigh theſe obſervations. I con- "ſider my baniſhment to Sinamary as a new ca- "lamity, ſince it condemns me to a ſtate of "perfect uſeleſſneſs, and my declining health "will unavoidably be extremely increaſed by "another ſea voyage."

The Agent, however, declared with the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that he had orders from the Government to ſend the deported perſons to Sinamary. Notwithſtanding the repreſentations and earneſt entreaties of Murinais, who ſeemed to have a preſentiment of his melancholy fate, all the deported perſons, except La Vilheurnois, who was unable to move a limb, were tranſported to Sinamary, where they arrived on the 6th Frimaire.

The diſtrict of Sinamary is in a ſtate of total ruin. About a ſcore of plantations, formerly ſituated on the banks of the river of the ſame name, are now entirely abandoned. The ſettlement, or town, is ſituated in the ſkirts of an uncultivated ſavanna, which lies to windward of it, and from which it is frequently infected with deleterious exhalations, ariſing from the ſtagnant waters in the hollows called *pris-pris*; the accumulations of mud on the N. N. E. coaſt, add to the unwholeſome-

neſs of the climate, eſpecially in the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October, during which the heat of the ſun is moſt powerful. At that ſeaſon there is no rain; but the breezes, which are regular, moderate the heat, and would render the climate ſupportable if they were not the vehicle of exhalations ariſing from the ſhallows, and from the mud accumulated by the ſea. At the time when the inhabitants had the requiſite reſources, and a ſufficient number of labourers, they uſed to burn the *pris-pris* while the waters were out, and thus prevented them from ſending forth mephitic exhalations. But during the three or four laſt years they have been unable to purſue this method; and to this cauſe muſt be chiefly attributed the impurity of the atmoſphere. A few houſes, or rather huts, conſiſting only of a ground floor, which are extremely damp during the long and rainy ſeaſon, and are throughout the year full of vermin, ſcorpions, ſnakes, and innumerable voracious inſects, are the only dwellings that compoſe the town.

Here all our hopes were at once moſt cruelly deſtroyed; for we now diſcovered that we had been purpoſely deceived in the moſt cruel and glaring manner. Laffond-Ladébat again wrote to the Agent to the following effect.

Letter

Letter from Laſſond-Ladébat to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" At the time when I addreſſed to you ſome " obſervations relative to our baniſhment to Sina- " mary, to which I received no anſwer, I was far " from conceiving that ſettlement to be in ſo " ruinous a ſtate. All the inhabitants are ſinking " in deſpair, nor can they even cultivate the neceſ- " ſary food to keep them from ſtarving; their plant- " ations are abandoned, their farm-yards almoſt " entirely deſtroyed, and the unwholeſomeneſs of " the air daily increaſes to a moſt alarming degree. " I conſider it as impoſſible we can long exiſt in " this ſpot; if the government have ordered that " we ſhould be placed here, we *muſt expect from* " *time and from eternal juſtice, that judgment which* " *the whole nation will form relative to their motives.*

" But if (though I am far from believing it) you " have of your own authority fixed this place for " our abode, I ſhall not heſitate to tell you, " Citizen Agent, *that you are the man our families* " *will accuſe of cauſing the death of thoſe among us,* " *who will infallibly become your victims.*"

We were all of us lodged in the old Preſbytery, where we were crowded together to the number of five in a room, which obliged ſome of us to ſeek for

for lodgings elſewhere. Nor was our reſidence at Sinamary more than a mere temporary or proviſory arrangement. We were to be changed about to the different parts of the colony till a ſpot was found which would moſt rapidly haſten our deſtruction, and ſend us in the ſhorteſt ſpace of time to the tomb. An engineer was ordered to ſeek out a ſpot, which would moſt completely unite all theſe *advantages*; and it was from the report of this engineer that the Directory at length fixed upon the ſettlement of Conanama for our reſidence. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of this grave of the human race.

It is aſſerted in France, that the perſons firſt deported had a ſpace of twenty leagues on all ſides, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary, which they were free to traverſe. The Agent's order allowed them to go on one ſide to Kourou, and on the other to Iracombo. This liberty, however, was rendered nugatory by an obligation impoſed on them to appear every five days before the commandant of Sinamary.

Though the victims of calamity ſhould naturally be united by their misfortunes, yet, by ſome cruel fatality, misfortunes generally produce a contrary effect. The deported had not long reſided at

Sinamary

Sinamary before diviſions ſprang up among them. One party reproached their colleagues with too much vehemence in the Senate, while the latter accuſed the former of having ruined their country by their apathy and lukewarmneſs.

Murinais and Laffond-Ladébat endeavoured to reconcile theſe differences; but Ramel, and Tronçon-du-Coudray, were conſtantly broaching contrary principles to thoſe of Willot, De la Rue, Pichegru, and Aubry; while Barbé-Marbois, and Barthélemy, remained almoſt neutral. In general, however, Barthélemy inclined towards Willot's party, and Barbé-Marbois to that of Du Coudray. Rovère ſpoke but little, and ſeemed abſorbed in melancholy reflections. La Vilheurnois bore his misfortunes with magnanimity, but was moſt intimate with Barthélemy and De la Rue. Bourdon de l'Oiſe quarrelled with every one, as well as with his own conſcience. Brothier maintained but little intimacy with La Vilheurnois, who had formerly been his friend; but he was inceſſantly diſputing with Ramel, and reminded him of his having participated in the denunciations of Malo. At this Ramel was extremely irritated, and replied with great aſperity. One day, as he was reproaching Brothier with his connexion with Billaud-Varennes,

Brothier haſtily replied, that there was no good reaſon why he ſhould not aſſociate with Billaud, ſince he was compelled to live with his denouncer*. Brothier, however, would have acted more wiſely, had he conſented to forget the paſt, and conſidered Ramel merely as his companion in misfortune. The Abbé Brothier, however, was entirely engroſſed with his mathematical ſtudies, and intended, whenever he ſhould return to France, to publiſh an elementary work on that branch of ſcience.

The worthy Le Tellier, of whom we have hitherto been ſilent, divided his attention between his maſter and the moſt aged of his deported companions, or, rather, he offered his ſervices indiſcriminately to them all. Doſſonville contradicted no one; and thoſe of the deported who eſcaped, owed their good fortune, in a great meaſure, to the good intelligence he kept up. Barbé-Marbois, Ladébat, De la Rue, Tronçon-du-Coudray, and Barthélemy, employed their minds chiefly in political ſtudies. La Vilheurnois was continually reading or walking; and General Pichegru amuſed

* It was doubtleſs to this private enmity that Brothier was indebted for the injuſtice with which Adjutant-general Ramel treats him in his "*Narrative.*" Ramel might indeed complain of his enemy; but he had no right to calumniate him by affecting to claſs him with Billaud-Varennes. *French Editor.*

himſelf

himſelf in learning Engliſh, an employment in which he ſeemed to take great pleaſure.

We were not long without experiencing the fatal effects of the climate we inhabited.

Murinais had arrived there in a moſt deplorable ſtate, and in this dreadful ſituation his illneſs could not fail to grow worſe. He wrote, therefore, to the Agent the following letter:

Letter from Murinais to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" Arreſted by an arbitrary authority, in violation " of the conſtitutional laws, and of the rights of " man, and notwithſtanding the inviolability of my " perſon as a repreſentative of the people, I have " been included in a law of the 19th Fructidor, " ordering the deportation of fifty-two deputies, " unheard, without the Legiſlative Body pronoun- " cing Aye or No, agreeably to the forms preſcribed " in the Conſtitution on the validity of their accu- " ſations. Againſt ſuch a deportation I, for my " own part, now remonſtrate, and ſhall never ceaſe " to proteſt.

" Shut up in a cage of iron, and dragged by an " armed force to Rochefort, I was thruſt between " the decks of a corvette, and fed, like a galley

" convict, with the worſt of proviſions, ſuch as
" excited the indignation of the whole crew.

" I did not imagine, that on my arrival at Cay-
" enne, my lot would be ſtill further aggra-
" vated by prolonging my confinement, and pro-
" nouncing a new ſentence of deportation againſt
" me. But it appears I am proviſorily deported to
" Sinamary, a ſettlement conſiſting only of about
" a ſcore of families, who are continually ſtruggling
" with miſery in a burning and deſtructive cli-
" mate.

" To ſuch a ſpot have you deported ſixteen
" citizens of France, fourteen of whom have
" neither been accuſed, tried, nor heard in their
" defence, and whoſe lives muſt neceſſarily be
" ſhortened by the innumerable privations and in-
" conveniences to which you ſubject them.

" At my age and in the circumſtances in which
" I am placed, no man would be much afraid of
" his approaching end, nay, I conſider its arrival as
" a deſirable relief. But it is a duty I owe to my-
" ſelf and to the dignity of a repreſentative, to
" apprize you, for the prevention of all ſuperfluous
" expenſe, that I cannot accept any grant of land
" that may, in any reſpect whatever, be conſidered
" as an indemnity or a compenſation for the loſs of
" my liberty. Until my ſituation ſhall depend

" on

" on my own free and voluntary choice, I will re-
" main in the ſtate of captivity in which criminals
" have placed me, expecting from the hands of
" juſtice, and the teſtimony of an irreproachable
" life of ſixty-ſeven years, a change of my unhappy
" lot, which it depends on yourſelf alone (by con-
" ſulting your laws) to alleviate.

" Should I meet my fate in this diſtant ſpot, it
" will be for you for ever to reproach yourſelf with
" having, by unneceſſarily increaſing the weight of
" my misfortunes, ſhortened the life of a man of
" probity, who might ſtill have hoped long to
" contribute to the good and happineſs of his
" country."

This letter obtained no anſwer, and the venerable Murinais expired a fortnight after he wrote it. As ſoon as the news of his death arrived at Cayenne, an ante-dated order was ſent for his removal. Had it been diſpatched on the receipt of his requeſt, Murinais would ſtill have been in a ſituation to have gone to the hoſpital. Thus did this worthy old man, who had devoted fifty years of his life to the ſervice of his country, who had been torn from his family, and from the legiſlative body, untried, unheard, and in violation of the ſacred office he filled, become the firſt victim of the paſſions that dictated the law

of

of the 19th Fructidor. He died with the greateſt firmneſs, and with that tranquillity which naturally attends on virtue. As we crowded round his bed, he frequently repeated the following remarkable ſentence: " *'Tis better to die at Sinamary free from* " *reproach, than to live in gult at Paris.*"

Some days after this melancholy ſeparation, Barthélemy, whoſe legs were very much ſwelled, obtained liberty to go to the hoſpital of Cayenne in the place of La Vilheurnois, who had ſcarcely recovered from his illneſs before he was obliged to come to Sinamary.

At Cayenne Barthélemy was tolerably well treated, being attended by the worthy ſiſters of the charity, whoſe humanity never relaxed. From that place he wrote the following letter to one of his friends in France.

Letter from Barthélemy to a Friend in France.

" You are already acquainted with the manner " in which we were conveyed acroſs France in " cages of iron, lying at night ſometimes in priſons " and ſometimes in dungeons. Our ſea voyage " correſponded with our journey by land.

" Crowded together in the between-decks, which " was guarded night and day by two ſoldiers with " drawn ſabres, we were fed like the ſailors with

" ſalt

" ſalt proviſions, gourgannes (beans), and ſome
" biſcuit, that was ſo bad and decayed, that it is
" aſtoniſhing any one ſhould offer it to the ſailors.

" We all bore this dreadful voyage tolerably
" well, though conſtantly treated as criminals;
" the inſtructions containing an order that we
" ſhould not ſpeak with any one of the crew.

" After a voyage of fifty-two days we arrived here,
" and landed at the hoſpital, where, as far as regards
" our food, we have been well treated, but never ceaſed
" to be under a guard of ſoldiers: we were not per-
" mitted to go out, except for an hour, morning
" and evening, into a field adjoining the walls of
" the hoſpital, and we were ſcarcely allowed to re-
" ceive any viſitors.

" We fondly imagined, that on our arrival at the
" place of our deportation our perſons at leaſt would
" be free; but in this we were deceived.

" A fortnight after we were conveyed by ſea to
" Sinamary, a miſerable and unwholeſome diſtrict,
" ſituated twenty-five leagues from Cayenne,
" where there is a dearth of all kinds of proviſions.

" We are lodged there in a building which was
" once the Preſbytery, conſiſting of five ſmall
" rooms, into which we are diſtributed. We are
" ſurrounded by ſerpents, ſnakes, innumerable

" voracious vermin of various ſizes, with which
" this country ſwarms; and the tigers are alſo our
" very near neighbours.

" A ſpace of ground is allotted for us to walk
" in; but ſometimes the extreme heat, ſometimes
" the rains, and at all times the innumerable inſects
" that fill the air, render our walks extremely trou-
" bleſome. Here alſo we are under a guard of
" ſoldiers.

" This place is inhabited by above fifty perſons,
" who are all ill with fevers. No one, except Bil-
" laud-Varennes, who alſo reſides here, enjoys
" good health. Beſides the allowance he receives
" in common with ourſelves, the government give
" him 1800 livres tournois per annum, and the
" rent of his cottage; and Victor Hugues ſends
" him from Guadaloupe various proviſions to the
" value of ſix thouſand livres per annum.

" The allowance we receive from the govern-
" ment conſiſts of half a pound of bread and
" three quarters of a pound of bad rice per day.
" It is impoſſible to procure any butcher's meat.

" I can but feebly pourtray the horror of our
" ſituation. Murinais ſank under it at the end of
" Brumaire. Every one of us is more or leſs in-
" diſpoſed.

" There

" There is a ſurgeon appointed for the military " eſtabliſhment; but you will eaſily conceive an " idea of the medical knowledge of a ſurgeon ſta- " tioned in ſo wretched a ſpot.

" A ſerious illneſs has procured me permiſſion " to come to this hoſpital, which is ſomewhat leſs " damp and leſs unwholeſome than Sinamary, " whither I dread the thoughts of returning.

" We hoped ſome alleviation of our lot might " arrive from France; but we have only learnt " that a great number of deported perſons are " about to be ſent hither, which will render our " ſituation ſtill more cruel. We have now no- " thing to expect, but to periſh by ſlow and pain- " ful degrees in this torrid zone, which renders " Guiana the grave of the Europeans who come " hither, notwithſtanding the deluſive pictures " that have been drawn of the country by French " writers."

Barthélemy had great reaſon to dread being ſent back to Sinamary; for he had no ſooner ſhown ſome ſigns of convaleſcence, than Jeannet ordered an armed force to convey him thither.

At this time, Tronçon-du-Coudray having ſymptoms of a very dangerous illneſs, the ſurgeon of

Sinamary certified that he could not be properly treated there, and that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to remove him to Cayenne. Tronçon therefore wrote to the Agent, ſoliciting permiſſion to go there.

Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" It is to yourſelf that I chooſe to apply; for it " is impoſſible that, when you are informed of my " ſituation, you ſhould refuſe me permiſſion to come " to Cayenne. *A refuſal would render my caſe deſpe-* " *rate, and would be my death-warrant.* In this " place none of the articles requiſite for ſo compli- " cated a diſorder as mine are to be had; and the " badneſs and humidity of the air prevent the re- " medies from taking effect. It is not a privilege " I am aſking. Every man ſo ſituated would have " a right to demand his removal to Cayenne. " Nor is it to you, Citizen Agent, that I need ob- " ſerve, that here humanity has her laws. *Power* " *will paſs away, but good actions remain.*"

To this letter the Agent gave no anſwer; but ſent off a phyſician to Sinamary without any means

of

of cure. In addition to his other complaints, Tronçon laboured under a putrid and malignant fever, which attacked him in the beginning of Floréal; and on the ſame day Laffond-Ladébat fell ill of a violent bilious fever. They were both lodged in one room, nor could they obtain a ſeparate apartment. Thus were their diſorders continually and reciprocally increaſed by the ſight of each other's ſufferings, and the putrid air they breathed. Tronçon, however, ſeemed for a ſhort time to be convaleſcent; but he had afterwards ſeveral relapſes, and the phyſician ſent from Cayenne certified alſo that he could not be properly treated at Sinamary. Tronçon therefore again wrote to the Agent as follows:

Second Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" It was not an additional phyſician I needed, " but a purer air, and thoſe means of recovery " which I cannot procure here; ſuch as broth, " bathing, and attendance; in a word, whatever " Sinamary cannot furniſh. This place is ex- " tremely damp and marſhy; there is a want

" of every thing, and that want cannot be ſup-
" plied.

" By ſpeaking a ſingle word, you can put an
" end to all theſe evils. But will that word be
" ſpoken? It lies entirely in your own breaſt;
" and if you conſent I ſhall be extremely grateful.
" Will it be refuſed? That too lies in your own
" breaſt. I ſhall endure it with reſignation, al-
" though I am *convinced I ſhall fall a victim to*
" *your deciſion.* I wait your anſwer with confi-
" dence. May it be dictated by humanity!"

His refuſal was abſolute. The ſentence of death was pronounced. Tronçon-du-Coudray expired on the 4th Meſſidor, with that tranquillity which ever attends an unſullied conſcience. His ſtrong attachment to order, juſtice, and true liberty, the talents he diſplayed, and the projects he formed, proved that he would one day have rendered the moſt important ſervices to his country. But, alas! his country has loſt him! Du Coudray was the ſecond victim ſacrificed in this wild and ſavage country to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor!

Bourdon de l'Oiſe died the ſame day, and almoſt at the ſame hour.

Willot,

Willott, Rovère, and Ramel, were ſucceſſively attacked with various diſorders.

It was at this time that Pichegru, Barthélemy, Le Tellier, Willot, De la Rue, Aubry, Ramel, and Doſſonville, determined to fly from the fate to which both the climate and Jeannet's refuſal ſeemed to condemn thoſe who remained at Sinamary. Accordingly, they entruſted themſelves to a very ſlender bark, in which they were fortunate enough to eſcape.

At Sinamary they were, as it were, in the jaws of death, and nothing but a miracle could ſave them. Marbois and Rovère refuſed to join them in their flight. Laffond-Ladébat had from the firſt declared that he would not fly: for he feared the law of confiſcation might compromiſe both the intereſt of his family and the property of his creditors. To him, therefore, although in a ſtate of convaleſcence, the project was not communicated.

Thus all the deported members of the Council of Elders remained at Sinamary, waiting in hopes that juſtice would one day demonſtrate the purity of their conduct: for they were reſolved not to ſacrifice the peace of their families to a few years of exiſtence. This generoſity, alas! coſt many of them

their

their lives. Only two of them ſurvived their companions in misfortune; and theſe alſo will probably ſoon fall a ſacrifice to that murderous climate, unleſs they ſhould be reſcued from the fangs of death, by changing at leaſt the place of their baniſhment.

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PRISONS OF ROCHEFORT.

BY RICHER-SERISY *.

Germinal, in the Year VI.

——————NO, you have not, like me, beheld that crowd of innocent victims, overwhelmed with mental and bodily ſufferings, linked together two by two, heaped together in carts, and daily dragged from all parts of France to Rochefort, to be thence removed to ſuffer and to die in the impure atmoſphere of Cayenne! Tranſport yourſelf then for a moment to the dungeons that yawn to receive them.

Imagine to yourſelf various damp apartments fifty feet ſquare, each of which contains two hundred of theſe unfortunate beings, whoſe numbers are daily and hourly increaſing. In theſe dungeons are impriſoned perſons of all ages from youth to decrepit old age. Their beds are matreſſes of oakum, two feet broad, ſpread on the ground, without ſheets or covering; and even of theſe the

* Editor of "L'Accuſateur Publique," a paper remarkably bold and obnoxious to the Directory.

number

number not complete in proportion to the number of priſoners, who are obliged to lie three upon a matreſs. Totally deſtitute of tables and chairs, the ground is the only place on which to repoſe their weary limbs, while four enormous tubs, placed at the corners of theſe apartments, fill the air with peſtilential effluvia.

In this horrid ſcene, innocence is forced to linger. To avoid total ſuffocation, theſe unfortunate beings crowd towards the window, to taſte the freſh air through the bars that deprive them of their liberty. Yet even this alleviation is not permitted, for the ſentinels, ſtationed at the airing place, fire on thoſe who raſhly advance their heads too far. Thus did a murderous ball lately kill an infirm and aged prieſt, who had paſſed his ſixtieth year!

When the clock ſtrikes eleven, the gates of the priſon are opened, and the daily allowance of the priſoners brought in wooden pails by drunken, unfeeling wretches; conſiſting of ſea-biſcuit ſoaked in warm and greaſy water, a pound of hard black bread, ſome cow-beef half dreſſed and dragged through the dirt, which is cut into as many ounces as there are priſoners. Such is their allowance for a whole day, which is repeated every four-and-twenty

hours. You ſhudder at my tale! Learn from it the inexhauſtible patience, the unparalleled reſignation, of the priſoners!

I was preſent at the arrival of theſe infected aliments; and ſaw the Prieſts throw themſelves on their knees to bleſs and pray over them. This ſight is renewed every day at the hour when their religion preſcribes this duty. I was a witneſs to the melancholy confuſion of ſobs and prayers which every morning and evening, and during the ſilence of the night, re-echo through theſe miſerable vaults: the ſound of bolts and creaking hinges, and the hoarſe rough voice of jailers, which at intervals mingled with theſe noiſes, filled me with horror. At the ſame moment I beheld the beauteous violet and the tender bud of ſpring uniting round the bars in a ſmall garden adjoining to the priſon, and the little birds that came to perch beneath the opening leaf to ſing the ſong of liberty and of pleaſure, in the preſence of men loaded with irons, and overflowing with the tears of wretchedneſs. This picture of life and of death, of ſlavery and of liberty, of happineſs and of deſpair, that beneficent Nature, who alike diſpenſes her boons in the priſons of Rochefort and the groves of the Luxemburg Palace, afforded both

to the heart and the eye the moſt afflictive of contraſts.

If ſome of theſe unfortunate perſons ſink under their uncommon ſufferings, if at the approach of death they implore relief, ſo long a ſpace of time intervenes before that relief can poſſibly reach them, or the order is given, that the poor creatures may die a hundred times, while waiting for that which would have ſaved their lives. The order, however, at length arrives; the phyſician ſeems only to be ſkilled in the art of torturing the ſoul. This hard-hearted brute, whoſe ſevere and meagre countenance reſembles the bars of the priſon he viſits; this monſter, who is inſenſible to pity or to ſhame, and who has transformed his honourable and beneficent profeſſion into the buſineſs of an aſſaſſin, and treats the ſufferings of the priſoners with inſolent and brutal raillery, runs, in two ſhort minutes, through this abode of miſery, in the midſt of groans, of horror and deſpair. Nor is it until the agonies of death are upon them that he will grant the ſick an hoſpital bed. "You "ſeem to ſuffer," ſaid he to one of them: "this "leg of yours is threatened with mortification; "the air of Cayenne will do you good."—"You "vomit blood," ſaid he to another; "your

"caſe

" caſe requires deportation; your fever is very " bad; but have patience, the ſhip is ready, and " you will ſail within two days." If by chance he is humane enough to feel their pulſe, his countenance and convulſive geſtures declare how much pleaſure he would have in breaking their limbs or diſſecting their bodies.

Thus do theſe unfortunate beings, who languiſh for relief and conſolation, expire in the agonies of aggravated horror, with the dreadful idea, that they are about to leave behind them a wretched family and a blaſted memory; that their bodies will be thrown with neglect and contempt into a corner, and deprived of the laſt tribute of tenderneſs and affection; that their wives, their children, and their friends, ignorant of their fate, will continue to pour forth prayers and vows for their deliverance, long after the ſurgeon Vives ſhall have inſulted their aſhes by laughing at their fate.

If a few of theſe unfortunate beings have ſaved ſome wrecks of their property, if they purchaſe, at an exorbitant price, freſh air and more wholeſome food, it is true, they experience a momentary relief from their torments, as long as its price is within their reach; their means are, however, at

length exhauſted, lukewarm charity grows cold, and then, undermined by a long captivity, they will arrive at the place of their baniſhment, naked, and plundered of their laſt reſources.

You will hardly ſuſpect, that the tools of power, thoſe proud republicans, thoſe mortal enemies to tyranny, forgetting that they are the paſſive and criminal inſtruments of arbitrary violence, that the victims they are employed to torture are innocent, that ſhame and puniſhment would be the reward of their murderous complaiſance, if the conſtitution reſumed its vigour, can experience either pleaſure or profit from rendering this infernal ſyſtem ſtill more cruel and oppreſſive; that through fear of loſing a place which has ſo many competitors, or, like faithful dogs fawning for an expected bone, they ſhould pay their court by inflicting miſeries on the juſt, or find a pleaſure in being ferocious, while their maſters only require of them to be their ſubmiſſive ſlaves!

'Tis in this den of miſery, whence hope itſelf is baniſhed, that every one who is deported, that is, every one who has the misfortune to have diſpleaſed the government or ſome municipal agent, a ſecretary of a commune, a juſtice of peace, a contractor, a miſtreſs, or a ſervant, is condemned

to

to linger. Here perſons accuſed of emigration, whoſe names have been three or four times eraſed from the liſt, a favour for which they paid exorbitantly, though they never had quitted their country, their town, or even, perhaps, their houſe; here miniſters of the Catholic religion, worthy curates and venerable vicars, who have grown old in unſhaken faith and unſullied ſimplicity, and ſtrangers to every idea of political intrigue; whoſe only errors are thoſe of a ſcrupulous, conſcious, and uncorruptible integrity, are abandoned, without the ſmalleſt hope or reſource, to the moſt afflictive feelings that can torture a heart which crimes have never degraded. Here innocence, ſtruggling amid the convulſions of deſpair, appeals in vain to the laws, cries aloud for a declaration of her crimes;—but, alas! prayers, groans, and deſpair, are all in vain! they are fated to be ſwallowed up in the iſland of Cayenne, there to periſh on a land of exile; for the irrevocable order of deportation is to them a certain warrant of death. If this is not the fact, ſay, tyrants, would ye have deported them?

Ye to whoſe hearts ſenſibility is dear! ye who read theſe pages with a ſigh of ſympathetic horror! will believe, perhaps, that even while I am painting facts in feeble colours, my affrighted imagina-

imagination, grown wild with the contemplation of cruelty and misfortune, is ſtill exaggerating beyond the truth; but liſten to the facts I ſhall relate.

I was preſent when two old men were brought in, the younger of whom, who had an ulcer in his leg, was ſeventy-ſix years old; the elder, who was blind and deaf, was in his eighty-third year: they were deported as diſturbers of the public peace. Soldiers of the Gendarmerie, or rather a cruel banditti *, a diſgrace to the dreſs they wear, and who traffic in deportation, becauſe theſe two old men were unable to give them a louis-d'or which they demanded, bound their enfeebled and fleſhleſs arms, while they ſhed an unwilling and a lingering tear from their aged eyes, and let it fall upon their fetters.

I have beheld a woman ſeventy-five years of age (Madame de Marſac) dragged from Bourdeaux to Rochefort in a heavy and chilling rain, where ſhe arrived deſtitute of clothes, of linen, of bread, of friends, and of every means of ſubſiſtence; for the revolution had devoured them all. Unfortunate

* This accuſation does not attach to the Gendarmerie in general; for although that body contains ſome atrocious villains, it alſo abounds with brave ſoldiers, whoſe hearts recoil at the office they are condemned to diſcharge, and who combine probity and humanity with the rigours of their employment.

woman!

woman! ſhe had, alas! ſurvived her family, and ſtood alone in the world; her dog only remained; he lay upon her knees, and ſhe preſſed him in her arms: this poor little animal, this faithful friend of her misfortunes, returned her careſſes, and ſeemed to participate in her miſery: what barbarian would have deſired to ſeparate them? the ſavages deſtroyed him!

I have beheld a whole family of peaſants in the moſt dreadful ſtate of privation; a father, his two ſons, and two daughters, who had fled from the murderous kniſe of Le Bon: they were deported as dangerous perſons!

I have beheld women, who were models of conjugal affection, holding their infant children to their breaſts, which grief and miſery had dried up, and living on charity, traverſe France to follow their huſbands into baniſhment!

I have beheld, in the ſeverity of winter, in the month of January, Gibert Deſmoliéres, a Repreſentative of the People, and conſiderably advanced in years, dragged from Paris to Rochefort in a cart. This worthy man ſuffered his misfortunes with perfect tranquillity, weeping only for thoſe of his mother; a mother in extreme old age, of whom he was the only ſupport; a mother whom he moſt

tenderly loved, a mother from whom he had never been ſeparated, and who will die far from her baniſhed ſon, deprived of his ſupport, and of the laſt offices of filial affection!

Perlet, Jardin, and Langlois *, accompanied him. Langlois, who was an intereſting young man, alike diſtinguiſhed for his talents, his virtues, and his bravery, had an opportunity of eſcaping during the journey. Several kind and zealous friends were ready to reſcue him at Rambouillet; but he offered, however, this privilege to Gibert; "And "what," replied that Deputy, "will then become "of my mother? 'Tis true I may eſcape, but the "wreck of my property will be ſeized, and ſhe "will die in wretchedneſs." In this ſtruggle of generoſity, Langlois, who was languiſhing under a diſorder of the ſtomach, and vomited blood profuſely, refuſed the relief offered by friendſhip, and would have ſhared the fate of Gibert. I took him away, however, and thus reſcued him from his murderers and from death.

Laſtly, for I can hold no longer this mournful pallet, whoſe colours are inexhauſtible, I have beheld——but my tortured heart almoſt refuſes to

* He was editor of a newſpaper, inimical to the Directory.

purſue

purſue the narration. It was ſeven in the evening: the priſon-gate opened, and I beheld a man who lay acroſs a horſe bound hand and foot, while the ſoldier who accompanied him, told the horror-ſtruck ſpectators that his priſoner was a drunken fellow, who could not ſit his horſe. At length he was taken off, and carried into the priſon. I followed him, and touched his pale cold forehead; I endeavoured to recall his ſenſes by means of ſalts—but, alas! he was dead *! And 'tis at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, this century diſtinguiſhed for its humanity and civilization, that I have ſeen a lifeleſs corpſe entered on the books of a jailor!!!

Even at the time when I am thus pouring forth the horrors of an afflicted heart, I am informed that a veſſel had received into her hold a part of theſe unfortunate beings, to the number of two hundred, where, crowded and preſſed againſt each other in this gulf of infection, the greater part of them, ſinking under peſtilential diſorders, will, doubtleſs, never arrive at their deſtined place of baniſhment.

* This unfortunate being was in the priſon of Muron, or Muren, a commune five leagues diſtant from Rochefort. The juſtice of peace, who delivered a dying perſon to the gendarmes to convey to Rochefort, will ſurely, if there are laws in France, be one day puniſhed for this atrocious crime.

I am informed that, at the time of their getting out to ſea, they were attacked by the Engliſh, who are maſters of our coaſt; and the ſhip being diſmaſted in the conteſt, the water entering on every ſide, ſhe was obliged to take refuge in the port, where ſhe retained her dying priſoners in her damaged and leaky hold; and that another veſſel, after their paſſing a month in this dreadful cavern, had juſt received them on board, to depart a ſecond time, and convey them to the land of deportation. Thus caſt off by France, again repulſed by the Engliſh, and forced back upon our coaſt, driven to and fro like the waves of the dreadful element that bears them, imagine the deſpair of theſe unhappy beings, panting again to preſs the beloved ſhores of their country, though but again to be driven into baniſhment.

To you, dear and ſacred victims of the ferocious Robeſpierre, if, on the other ſide the grave, your virtuous ſouls ſtill thrill with compaſſion for our miſeries, to you I appeal, and demand whether ye regret the ſacrifice of life, or that ſhort and ſudden pang which inſtantly put a period to your torments, torments leſs dreadful than thoſe inflicted on the ſoul, than the tedious and lingering convulſions of deſpair, or that perpetual agony of horror

which

which renders the anguiſh of death, as it were, eternal, while it denies the undiſturbed repoſe of the grave. Yet a little while, and even Robeſpierre will ſeem to have had a ſcrupulouſly kind and feeling heart; for thoſe who, after nine years of revolution and of experience, ſtill inflict ſuch horrors, and exerciſe ſuch tyranny, are at once more criminal, and their crimes leſs ſuſceptible of extenuation.

Calviniſts, Lutherans, Theophilanthropiſts, worſhippers of Mithra, or of Moſes! whatever be your religious opinions, or your diverſified ſyſtems of worſhip, they all enjoin the practice of humanity, mercy, the love of your neighbour, and even the love of your enemies. 'Tis on this grand, this univerſal baſis, that all the religions of the earth are built. And you, my fellow-citizens of France! ſay, is there one of you who may not view the arbitrary deportation of theſe unfortunate men as threatening himſelf with the ſame fate to-morrow?

Hodie mihi, cras tibi.

Surely there exiſts not an inhabitant of France but would ſhudder at being thus inſtantly torn by the caprice of a wanton calumniator from his wife, his children, his country, and his fortunes, and

robbed of every thing that is dear to him. O yield, then, to the dictates of your common intereſts, and forget your hatreds and mutual animoſities; for to defend the cauſe of theſe victims of miſery, is but to plead in behalf of the nation at large. Generals, Legiſlators, Judges, Directors, men of every party, and of every rank and condition, O liſten to my voice. Your ſafety and ſelf-preſervation is inſeparable from theirs: your acquieſcence in their fate would render you reſponſible for theſe atrocious meaſures to every future age. Yes; it would bring upon your own heads the horror with which theſe arbitrary acts will fill the ſouls of your children, and which your cowardice and weakneſs will encourage.

(Signed) RICHER-SERISY.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

THAT TOOK PLACE AT GUIANA SUBSEQUENT TO THE ESCAPE OF THE EIGHT EXILES,

UP TO THE 29 VENTOSE IN THE YEAR VII.

THE commandant of Sinamary loaded the priſoners who remained in his power with new inſults and additional ſeverity; he alſo rendered their confinement more rigorous, and ſeemed, as it were, determined to puniſh them for not having taken to flight. It was long before they had any news of their friends. A month after their eſcape ſome ſoldiers reported that the canoe in which they had embarked, had been fallen in with at ſea by a privateer belonging to the colony, which had ſunk it; and they added, that none of the fugitives eſcaped. Thus the unfortunate priſoners poured forth in aggravated captivity the tears of friendſhip and of grief over the fate of their hapleſs companions. The object of this falſe report, which was ſpread over the whole colony, was to deter the remaining priſoners from all ideas of attempting a ſimilar eſcape, and to add to the ſufferings they endured.

About this time Jeannet received inſtructions

from the Directory, ſomewhat more humane and moderate than the preceding, which were written by the ferocious Reubell; and the orders given to increaſe the rigour of the confinement of the remaining priſoners were now revoked.

On the 19th Prairial, the frigate La Decade arrived in Cayenne-road with 193 other deported perſons; among whom were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, namely Gibert-Deſmoliéres and Job-Aimé, ſome Emigrants, a great number of Prieſts, ſome refractory, others recanting, and ſome who had taken the oaths; and laſtly, ſome perſons who had been condemned to impriſonment for violations of the criminal code. The ſituation of theſe exiles at the time of their arrival was dreadful. None of them indeed had died during the paſſage; but they had all ſuffered cruelly, and the greater number were in the moſt perfect indigence, and almoſt naked; while biſcuit, devoured by vermin, gourganne beans, and bad water, were the only nouriſhment of the aged and the infirm, who were ſinking under their oppreſſions.

Upon their arrival, the inhabitants of Guiana again gave the moſt ſtriking proofs of their kindneſs and hoſpitality. Many of theſe ſtrangers were received at various plantations which were generouſly

rouſly offered them as an aſylum; and a negro woman who poſſeſſed a ſmall plantation in the diſtrict of Sinamary, and who has ſeven young children in her houſe, eagerly offered to receive one of the prieſts.

The inſtructions the Agent had received, in conſequence of the remonſtrances preſented by the families of the perſons firſt deported, enjoined him to permit them to ſettle in whatever part of Guiana they might chooſe, except the iſland of Cayenne. In compliance with theſe inſtructions the Agent publiſhed an order dated the 30th Prairial. (See Appendix, No. II.)

This order laid ſeveral reſtrictions on the liberty of the deported, and reſerved to the Agent an arbitrary power over the eſtabliſhments they might make.

Another order, dated 10 Prairial, granted them a continuation of their allowances till the 22d Brumaire. (See Appendix, No. III.)

On the 10th Thermidor, La Vilheurnois, who left France in the moſt vigorous ſtate of health, terminated his career of life. He had been tried by a military commiſſion nominated by the Directory, and condemned to a year of impriſonment. Yet without further trial or change of ſentence, and merely

merely to make the public believe he had been connected with the members of the Legiſlative Body included in the law of the 19th Fructidor, he was deported as well as Brothier, who, like himſelf, was accuſed of being an agent of the brother of Louis XVI. Duverne de Preſle, or Dunan, who was included in the ſame accuſation, had alone been excepted, in conſequence of the declarations upon which the pretended conſpirators of the 18th Fructidor, were denounced to the Legiſlative Body; though not till that body had been moſt groſsly outraged. La Vilheurnois, throughout his misfortunes, maintained a firm and invariable fortitude. At the hoſpital of Cayenne he was compelled to lie in the very bed where the deteſted Collot d'Herbois had died. He was much diſſatisfied with Brothier, and had frequently ſo expreſſed himſelf to him, but was deſirous to be reconciled, before he died; and having received from the Abbé's hands the laſt ſpiritual comforts, he expired in his arms, pouring forth vows for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy.

As ſoon as a few *carbets*, or huts formed of hurdles and turf, and covered with thatch or leaves of trees, were conſtructed; eighty of the deported were conducted to Conanama; that is, all thoſe who had not yet procured ſettlements. This place having

having no ſurgeon, the ſurgeon of Iracombo, which is three long leagues diſtant, received orders to go thither four times per month.

Several of theſe unfortunate perſons were robbed on the road, and moſt of them had no other bed than the ground, when they arrived at their carbets; the ſoil being very damp, and chiefly conſiſting of a muddy moraſs. "I have ſeen Indians," ſaid one of them in a letter to a friend; "yes, I have "ſeen men whom we call ſavages, ſhudder at theſe "dreadful ſcenes, which they aſſured me inſpired "them with horror. I have ſeen the Captain of "the Indians of Iracombo, who worked together "with his men in preparing theſe *carbets*, ſhed tears "over our misfortunes, and expreſs the ſtrongeſt "indignation againſt the authors of our miſeries*."

The quiet and peaceful ſettlers were obliged to crowd together to the number of twenty or twenty-five in one carbet, to avoid being confounded with miſcreants who threatened them with deſtruction, and were watching to plunder them of their laſt remaining clothes. This kind of diſorder ſoon broke out, and three or four of theſe miſ-

* "Theſe Indians and thoſe of Sinamary were compelled to "work at the *carbets*, after which they were referred to Cayenne "for payment."

creants were accuſed, one of a robbery committed in a neighbouring plantation, and the reſt of a conſpiracy to ſet fire to the carbets. Of four of them who were conducted to Sinamary, one was acquitted and ſent back to Conanama, and the reſt conveyed to Cayenne to take their trials. He that was accuſed of robbery was impriſoned at Conanama; and although his guilt was not proved by any witneſs whatever, the engineer who commands the military force, and who was the perſon that had, in the month of Frimaire, formed the plan of this eſtabliſhment, and ſuperintended the execution of it, threatened the priſoner that he ſhould be ſhot at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, unleſs he confeſſed his crime in the courſe of the day. The poor wretch, however, broke out of priſon, and after wandering two or three days in the woods, was met with and arreſted, almoſt in a dying ſtate, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary. He was ſent to the hoſpital, where he died two or three days after.

He that was acquitted before the juſtice of peace at Sinamary, and ſent back to Conanama, was conveyed to Cayenne as a *ſuſpicious perſon*, by order of the Engineer Prévoſt. Thus it is that juſtice is adminiſtered in the name of the republic!

Rovère

Rovère was beginning to recover from a long and ſevere illneſs, when he received intelligence of the noble and generous ſtep of his affectionate wife, who informed him ſhe was about to embark on board the Medea, with her two infant children, to ſhare his fate, and, if poſſible, to alleviate his misfortunes. The firſt effect of this news, and the fears and anxieties to which it gave birth, cauſed a new relapſe. His mind and body, however, ſeemed both re-animated, and he applied himſelf to forming and executing a plan of ſettling himſelf, together with his family, in a plantation of which he had an offer, in the neighbourhood of Cayenne. To accompliſh this, however, it was neceſſary to conform to the regulations of the 30th Prairial; and ſome informalities in his demand retarded the conſignments he expected, at which he was ſo greatly alarmed, that his fever returned, accompanied with the moſt dangerous ſymptoms.

At length, however, he received the requiſite documents, and, notwithſtanding his extreme debility, and the oppoſition of the ſurgeon, and notwithſtanding death ſeemed already to hang over him, he embarked on the 15th Fructidor for Cayenne, though it was neceſſary to carry him in

a hammock from his bed to the ſchooner that was to convey him thither.

He had ſcarcely got out to ſea before he had a moſt violent attack of fever in the night, and became quite delirious. This circumſtance, added to the roughneſs of the ſea, obliged the captain to return to Sinamary, where he landed on the 17th. Rovère was diſembarked in a dying ſtate, ſcarcely able to move a limb, and was even hoiſted up and carried on ſhore in a hammock: he could not, however, be brought back to the houſe he before inhabited, as he had very great cauſe of complaint againſt the unfeeling ingratitude he had there experienced. One of the inhabitants, therefore, whoſe heart was more generous and ſympathetic than that of his former hoſt, although burdened with a large family and a ſick houſe, offered to receive him. To his houſe he was carried almoſt in the agonies of death. The ſurgeon paid him every attention; but all his cares were in vain; and after ſuffering a conſiderable time, he died at three in the morning on the 25th Fructidor.

It is impoſſible to pourtray the long and complicated ſufferings he endured. The apprehenſion of his wife and children arriving in the midſt of theſe ſcenes of ſickneſs and of death continually

haraſſed

haraſſed his mind, and he died calling upon their names, and imagining he was claſping them in his arms.

And here let me pay a tribute of reſpect and admiration to the kind-hearted and hoſpitable inhabitant who received him beneath his roof. This worthy man is one of the ſmall number of Germans who ſurvived the dreadful mortality that befel the planters, whoſe ſettlement was intruſted to the Chevalier Turgols at Chanvallon. After thirty-four years of labour, he had acquired a certain degree of affluence, when the new ſyſtem adopted for the regulation of the colonies ruined his fortune and deſtroyed all his hopes. The illneſs of his wife and children increaſed ſtill further his calamities; yet notwithſtanding theſe afflictions, every one of the deported who was ſituated in his diſtrict experienced his beneficence and humanity. The name of this worthy man, who is keeper of the ſtores at Sinamary, is Morgenſtern.

Eight of the newly deported perſons took up their abode in a ſmall room which they hired at Sinamary. On the 15th Fructidor ſix of them were in the hoſpital, and the other two ill of fevers; and on the 20th two of thoſe who were at the hoſpital died; one of theſe was D'Havelange, a reſpectable

ſpectable old man, who had formerly been a Rector at the univerſity of Louvain.

On the 9th Fructidor, the Agent, totally diſregarding his former orders, by which he had promiſed the perſons firſt deported their lodging and allowance of food till the 22d of Brumaire, wrote to the Commiſſary that theſe indulgences ſhould ceaſe on the 1ſt of Vendémiaire, at the ſame time ordering him to ſend to Conanama on the 25th Fructidor, thoſe of the ſixteen deported perſons, who were unable to ſettle themſelves agreeably to the regulations of his order of the 30th Prairial.

Thus was the permiſſion to ſettle, which had been ſo frequently conteſted and reſtrained, and which the Miniſter of Marine had at length granted, ſuddenly changed into a poſitive command to ſettle and to become a planter without the means of cultivation; or to commence merchant without being allowed to go to the only port which commerce could frequent. It was neceſſary, however, to chooſe one of theſe alternatives, or be cruelly conducted by a military force to the carbets of Conanama.

This diſtrict is ſituated between Sinamary and Iracombo, in a ſavanna that is ſurrounded by extenſive moraſſes, which render this ſpot ſtill more

more unwholeſome than Sinamary; and thoſe who had languiſhed during ſo long a period in theſe horrid deſerts, and had beheld their friends periſh through the effects of the peſtilential air of Sinamary, had no ſooner become ſeaſoned to that dreadful climate, than they were again obliged to change their ſituation: the Agent having inhumanly ordered them to be removed to this new grave of the human race at Conanama.

However incapable they might be to devote themſelves to agriculture and commerce, whatever other arrangements they might have made, yet even were they ſick, were they in the agonies of death, ſtill they muſt conform to the equally ſingular and arbitrary regulations of that order. (See Appendix, No. IV.) It arrived at Sinamary at a time when Brothier was juſt recovering from a ſevere fever; hence it had a cruel effect upon his health; for, having paſſed almoſt all his life in the ſtudy of mathematics and of literature, nothing could be more foreign to his habits than agricultural or commercial purſuits. On the 15th Fructidor he had been ſo active in aſſiſting Rovère to embark, and expoſed himſelf ſo much to the burning heat of the ſun, as to cauſe a further relapſe of his diſorder; he had hired a ſmall lodging, and

had addreſſed to the departmental adminiſtration a demand of a ſettlement. Some informalities, however, cauſed it to be returned; and as this anſwer did not reach him till the 20th Fructidor, at a time when he was in a ſtate of extreme debility, it cauſed ſo great a depreſſion of his ſpirits, that he conceived it was intended he ſhould die at Conanama: thus his fever increaſing, aſſumed the moſt alarming appearance, and he died at ten in the morning of the 26th Fructidor.

The death of Brothier will deprive the world of various works which he intended to have publiſhed from the manuſcripts of his uncle, and among others, an edition of Pliny, the notes on which alone would have been highly important to thoſe who are deſirous of comparing the knowledge of the ancients, relative to natural hiſtory, with that of the moderns.

We have learnt, that, up to the preſent time, of the newly deported perſons,

2 have died at Aprouayac,
9 at Cayenne and the reſt of the colony,
14 at Conanama,
3 at Sinamary.

29 in the ſpace of twenty-five days.

60 are ſick at Conanama,

5 at Sinamary, and

20 at the leaſt in various other parts of Guiana.

The daily allowance of all thoſe whom the humanity of the inhabitants has received into their houſes has been ſuppreſſed; nor are theſe individuals permitted to receive any aſſiſtance from the hoſpital.

The ſurgeon of the diſtrict of Sinamary performs his duty, although ill himſelf, with a zeal and activity that deſerve the gratitude of all the exiles; but the moſt eſſential medicines are refuſed to be ſent him from Cayenne, and he is often reduced to the painful neceſſity of ſeeing his patients die, through not having it in his power to adminiſter the medicines their caſes require.

The Agent has written to the Directory, giving a brilliant picture of the condition of moſt of the deported perſons who have ſettled in the colony, and who are forced to make fictitious arrangements both in agriculture and in commerce; for what ſpecies of commerce or of cultivation of the earth can men, without the means of either, and in a ſick or dying ſtate, purſue?

Billaud-Varennes, however, has conſtantly received all the aſſiſtance he ſtood in need of. He

has lately left Sinamary to ſettle in the diſtrict of Makouria; and it is reported in the colony, that he receives ſupplies from Victor Hugues; while infirm and wretched prieſts, bending under the weight of years, and victims to religious perſecution, are rejected by the hoſpital of the colony, and left to die without relief in a burning and infectious climate. One of theſe, a man ſixty years of age, afflicted with a hernia, was brought to Rochefort in great pain. His age and illneſs ought to have exempted him from deportation, and he demanded the enforcing of the law. But he was anſwered with ſavage deriſion: "You may demand it from the Commandant of Cayenne, when you ſhall arrive there." There at length he arrived, but in ſuch a ſtate as it was impoſſible to behold without tears; yet thence he was removed without pity to Conanama, where he was on the point of expiring, when the ſurgeon of Iracombo, whoſe heart was affected by his misfortunes, offered him an aſylum, and reſcued him from the jaws of death.

The general reſult of the foregoing narrative is as follows:

Firſt, That of the ſixteen perſons deported on board the corvette La Vaillante, eight remained at Sinamary;

Sinamary; and of theſe eight, ſix died in the ſpace of ten months and four days; namely,

Murinais on the 27th Frimaire, in the year VI.

Tronçon-du-Coudray on the 4th Meſſidor.

La Vilheurnois on the 10th Thermidor.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe the ſame day.

Rovère on the 25th Fructidor.

Brothier on the 26th Fructidor.

And that only two of theſe eight are ſtill alive; namely, Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat; and even the former of theſe was attacked with a fever eighteen days ago.

Thus the mortality of theſe deported perſons for the whole year is in the proportion of ſeven and two tenths to eight, or ſeventy-two to eighty; that is, according to this proportion, the whole number ſhould be extinct in fourteen months.

It muſt be further obſerved, that eight of the deported perſons reſcued themſelves from death about five months ago; and that it is at leaſt probable ſome of theſe alſo would have died, had they remained at Sinamary.

2dly. That of the five deported members of the Council of Elders, three are now no more. Theſe men were condemned, without criminality, accu-

 ſation,

ſation, or trial; they have left their country a heinous crime to atone for!

3dly. That only one member of the Council of Five Hundred remained at Sinamary; and he alſo has fallen. It is for his friends to explain their motives for ſacrificing him.

4thly. That of two agents of royaliſm, already tried and condemned to impriſonment in France, and who were deported without any further trial, and in contempt of their actual ſentence, neither is now alive.

5thly. That of the hundred and ninety-three perſons deported on board the frigate La Decade, twenty-nine died in leſs than a month, and at leaſt eighty-five are dangerouſly ill, and deprived of every ſpecies of relief.

In what nation of uncivilized ſavages or ferocious barbarians have men an idea of arbitrarily condemning, without trial or accuſation, members of the political aſſociation to ſuch a ſpecies of puniſhment and of torture? Yet of theſe victims of injuſtice the ſurvivors are doubtleſs the moſt miſerable. They have almoſt daily witneſſed the dying groans of their companions in misfortune, and are haunted with the phantom of a

painful

painful and languiſhing death on the ſavage coaſt of a diſtant country, far from their native homes, from their families, and from their friends.

On this horrid picture we ſhall make no reflections. It is to the juſtice and humanity of the French nation that it is ſubmitted.

Dated Guiana, the 9th Vendémiaire, in the year VII.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

M. F*** OF CAYENNE, TO HIS COUSIN MADAME DE N***.

Cayenne, the 24th Ventoſe,
in the Year VII.

—YOU aſk me, my dear Couſin, for news of the deported, and eſpecially of the friend in whoſe favour you have ſo warmly written to me. His eſcape, and that of moſt of his companions in misfortune, muſt already be known to you ſeveral months ago. I was happy enough to be of ſome ſervice to him during his ſtay at Sinamary; and it was perhaps through my advice that he ſo ſpeedily reſolved on flying from this ſcene of horror and of death.

In quitting this colony, the exiles were expoſed to the greateſt dangers. Providence, however, watched over them; and in a mere fiſhing-boat, with almoſt miraculous good fortune, they arrived, after experiencing the ſevereſt ſufferings, in the territories of the neighbouring Dutch colony.

Moſt of thoſe who remained behind have long ceaſed to exiſt. Their only ſurvivors are, Barbé-Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat, who perhaps are only reſerved for ſtill more cruel hardſhips.

Jeannet is no longer Commiſſary of the Government at Cayenne; and the tyranny of his ſucceſſor is ſo great, that we are almoſt compelled to regret his removal. We are continually told that it cannot continue long; but in the mean while we linger, as it were, in a tedious ſtate of depreſſion and ſickneſs, in which the evils the patient endures while waiting for the remedy are dreadful. Ah, my dear Couſin! you complain of your ſufferings in France: "You ſigh," you ſay, "for the time when "you will return to the colony!" while I would give the world never to have left the continent of Europe. The picture we are every day compelled to contemplate is too horrid for us to ſuppoſe you can be more wretched. You know, it is true, that unfortunate perſons exiſt, but you are not eye-witneſſes of their ſufferings; and it is evident, the evils endured by others affect us leſs in proportion to the diſtance of the ſcene. Yes, my dear Couſin, I cannot but cheriſh a belief that men would be leſs depraved were the mirror of truth conſtantly held up before their eyes, to ſhow them all the hideous deformity

deformity of vice; and the cruelleſt enemy of the deported would put a period to his vengeance, were he compelled to be the eye-witneſs of their miſery: for the mere beholding his victims would fill his ſoul with remorſe and horror.

A great number of other deported perſons have arrived ſince my laſt at Guiana, chiefly conſiſting of eccleſiaſtics; among whom are two new deputies, Aimé and Gibert-Deſmolières. But the inhabitants of Cayenne, who, though poor, are humane and hoſpitable, have the mortification to be unable to afford relief to all theſe poor unfortunate people, moſt of whom, totally deſtitute of all things, and ſinking beneath ſickneſs and infirmity, are waiting, as it were, for the ſtroke of death, which ſeems ready to fall upon their heads.

In vain have the planters ſolicited permiſſion for them to ſettle in the plantations in the neighbourhood of the town; in vain did I offer to be ſecurity for two venerable old men, who, as I foreſaw, could not ſurvive their removal to Conanama, and whoſe bodies are now laid in the tomb. Neither our repreſentations nor our prayers could prevail with the cruel-hearted man who governs us; and thus their deſtruction was inevitable. All of them are placed in the moſt unwholeſome parts of Guiana.

Guiana. At Sinamary, though a horrid place, life may ſtill continue to linger for a time: deſtruction was there too tardy in devouring her prey; and therefore it was reſolved to bury them, as it were, alive at Kourou, Conanama, and other remote diſtricts. And to theſe wild and nearly deſert ſpots they are confined, where their only proſpect is miſerably to die in wretchedneſs and want. Every inhabitant of the colony ſhudders at theſe horrors; but, alas! we ſhall not long have to bewail the actual ſufferings of theſe unfortunate beings, who are ſo cruelly ſacrificed! for the earth ſeems each day to yawn beneath their feet, and the extinction of their laſt ſurvivor will ſoon alleviate our ſympathetic afflictions.

Job-Aimé and Gibert-Deſmolières have, however, obtained permiſſion to ſettle near the town. But will the tyrant always be equally well diſpoſed toward them? His conduct to Laffond-Ladébat and Marbois proves, that no reliance can be placed on this capricious and cruel proconſul; for, fearing they might be carried off by the Engliſh from the coaſt of Sinamary, he thought fit, on the 25th Niveſe laſt, to have them brought over burning ſands to Cayenne; where, though they arrived in a very

bad ſtate of health, they were, in conformity to his orders, lodged in a cockloft at the hoſpital. Being however perſuaded the Agent was diſpoſed to grant them another plantation, they eagerly indulged that expectation, and wrote him a letter, which I ſhall firſt copy, and then relate the conſequences that enſued.

Laffond-Ladébat and Barbé-Marbois to the Special Agent from the Executive Directory in French Guiana.

" Hoſpital at Cayenne, the 14th Ventôſe, in the Year VII.

" Citizen Agent,

" If it is your intention to put an end to our " preſent impriſonment, which has continued from " the 25th Nivôſe, we requeſt your permiſſion " to ſettle in the plantation called L'Armorique. " We have ſeen all our companions in misfortune " ſucceſſively periſh, and it is our wiſh that we " may not be ſeparated. The illneſſes we have " experienced, and the debilitated ſtate of Mar- " bois, which has been increaſed by our unforeſeen " voyage from Sinamary to Cayenne, and the fear

" of

" of relapſes, which are peculiarly dangerous in " this climate, render it neceſſary that we ſhould be " near Cayenne, in order to be within reach of the " medical and other aſſiſtance it affords. Citizen " P*** will be our ſecurity, ſhould a regard to " our own characters and intereſts appear to you " inſufficient pledges. We alſo requeſt, Citizen " Agent, that this commiſſion commence only " from the 1ſt Germinal next, a delay which is " indiſpenſably neceſſary for the removal of our " effects from Sinamary. *We have the honour to* " *ſalute you* *.

(Signed) " LAFFOND-LADEBAT,
" BARBE-MARBOIS."

When the Agent peruſed this petition, he immediately flew into a violent paſſion. The omiſſion of the words " Health and reſpect " (Salut et reſpect) at the concluſion of the letter, was an outrage which it would have been a violation of his character to leave unpuniſhed; he even carried

* *Nous avons l'honneur de vous ſaluer*, was formerly a common mode of concluding a reſpectful letter, but as it is the language of gentlemen, and has the air of the *ancien regime*, it ſeems to have highly diſpleaſed this ferocious proconſul. T.

his ferocity ſo far as to avow this debaſing motive as the ground of his conduct; and although the weather was dreadfully bad, and Marbois was ſtill very ill, he and Ladébat were inſtantly embarked for Sinamary. I have heard from them thrice ſince their departure, and learnt that they are in a ſtate of greater ſuffering and torment than ever. On their return to Sinamary they found the following *arrêté* or order under execution, and new vexations daily increaſe the weight of their misfortunes.

" *Arrêté of the Commandant of Sinamary.*

" By order of the Commandant of this ſtation, " all the deported perſons, without exception, are " to aſſemble in the ſquare every Decadi and Quin- " tidi, at ten in the morning, there to paſs muſter " before the Military Commandant of the poſt.

" They ſhall be ranged in two rows, and in due " order.

" For the future all the deported ſhall be reſpon- " ſible for the eſcape of any one of their number.

" The deported are expreſsly prohibited from " quitting the ſtation without a written permiſſion " ſigned by the Commandant.

" The guard at the point of the paſſage of the " Savannas, are ordered to arreſt every deported

" perſon who ſhall attempt to paſs without ſhow-
" ing the aforeſaid permiſſion †.

" At Sinamary, the 28th Pluviôſe, in the
" year VII.

(Signed) " FREYTAG,
" Commandant of the Poſt."

At Conanama, at Kourou, and in all the diſtricts where any of the deported are placed, the ſame tyranny is exerciſed; two or three of them have, however, made their eſcape, or rather, perhaps, have fled into the foreſts in order to ſeek a more rapid and leſs cruel death.

M. Da ***, an Orléanais prieſt, but now deported to Conanama, has ſent me a letter ‡ written by him to his aged father, and which I tranſmit you herewith. What virtues, what greatneſs of ſoul he poſſeſſes! Ah! my dear and amiable couſin, let his letter be made public; it will melt even the hearts to which ſenſibility is almoſt a ſtranger; it will diſarm vengeance itſelf.

Since the flight of Pichegru and his friends, I have received three boxes for the deported, one of

† This arrêté has a ſtriking reſemblance to the new law relative to hoſtages. *Fr. Ed.*

‡ See page 136.

which

which contains provisions and clothes, another is filled with shoes, and the third with seeds. I shall deliver these effects to those who remain here, together with several letters I have also received for them. Tell M*** that the letter wherein he openly advises them to fly, was faithfully delivered to me by M. R***, who has rendered his friend considerable services. Should this letter reach you, have the goodness to send the following note to M. G***, notary at ——, and thus fulfil the intentions of his unfortunate brother, from whom I received it. The following is a copy:

" I am about to die, my dear brother, and I " should be guilty of an offence before God, did I " not forgive my enemies. When you witnessed " my departure for Guiana, you were desirous to " know who was my denouncer; and you assured " me, in your grief, that you would sooner or " later revenge this crime. O my brother! " abandon this intention. Forgive him, as I for- " give him, I conjure you, in the name of Jesus " Christ, who is about to receive me in his Divine " mercy. Recommend me to the prayers of all " our relatives, and to those of my parishioners.

" Adieu, my dear brother. I pray to God with " my dying breath, to pour down every blessing

" and

" and proſperity on you, your wife, and your
" five children. I am indebted to Madame L * * *
" thirty livres, which I requeſt you will repay her.
" Adieu, my dearly beloved brother! God will
" ſoon take his frail and ſinful creature unto
" himſelf.

(Signed) " P. M. G * * *,
" Curate of M——."

This worthy and reſpectable prieſt died the 16th of the preſent month, two days after he wrote the foregoing letter.

Adieu, my dear couſin. I will ſeize every poſſible opportunity of writing to you, both relative to your own affairs, and to the unfortunate perſons for whom you feel ſo lively an intereſt. Remember me to Meſdames de C * *, H * *, and W * *, not forgetting that worthy woman Bel * * *. M. P * * * 's agent is very ill, but all your friends are well. You do not tell me enough of Zoé; I hope at my return to find her anſwer my expectations. Meanwhile embrace her very tenderly for me.

F * * *.

LETTER

FROM

PIERRE-MARIE DA ***, CURATE OF ST. L——,

TO HIS FATHER

M. DA ***, A LANDHOLDER AT V——.

Conanama, a Diſtrict of French Guiana, 3d Feb. 1799.

GOD has watched over his ſinful creature. Your ſon is alive. Death has not ſeized your child, whoſe fate you deplore. O my father! you that have taught me from my earlieſt infancy, both by habit, and by the pleaſure it gives, to love virtue, and virtue alone, if your eyes, no doubt inceſſantly overflowing with tears, are ſtill open to the light of heaven, may theſe few lines, written by a hand you love, be delivered into yours! May they be a momentary conſolation to your age; and may that grief which too long has weighed you down, at leaſt reſpect the approaches to the grave. O my father! there is, there is another life, where the virtuous ſhall find ſhelter from iniquity. Even if religion did not reveal this truth, misfortune itſelf would teach it to mankind.

kind. Yes, my father! in that world, where all vain diſtinctions will be confounded, where the wicked can no longer purſue us, we ſhall meet again; there will your virtues and my misfortunes cauſe me to find favour in the ſight of God; there ſhall we be again united, and live eternally together. O my father! ſhall I ſpeak of my enemies? Ah, no! the miniſter of a God of peace ought not to feel that he has an enemy. Our holy religion teaches us to forgive, and Heaven is my witneſs, that at Conanama my lips have never pronounced the names of my perſecutors, but to draw down upon them the Divine mercy. Ah! if they be but ſo fortunate that repentance may enter their hearts, and ſhould I not be preſent to adminiſter conſolation to them, and to ſay to them, "I have "long ſince forgiven you," let ſome generous hand ſhow them this letter, and thus alleviate their torments! Ah! be their pardon pronounced alſo by you! The guilty have more need of pity than thoſe who become their victims; and the feelings of him who is tortured by remorſe, are ſo horrible, that even his enemy would willingly conſole him.

My father, you are impatient to know the ſpot that contains your ſon. 'Tis in the abode of death

and of virtue that he offers up to his God a life of ſorrow and of penitence.

You well know, my father, that, being always entirely devoted to my duty, I was ſurrounded by my faithful flock at the time when a tyrannical order arrived to tear me from the functions of my holy office. A man who was clothed in extraordinary power, declared himſelf my enemy, though he did not even know me. The government wrote to their agents narrowly to watch the prieſts; and the Commiſſary M * * * imagined he was ſerving his country by devoting them to death. I was marked out among others as his victim; and while my ſole occupation was to pour the words of conſolation into the boſom of the families around me, and preach to them to forget the errors of mankind, and forgive their injuries, I was treated as a partiſan of faction, an enemy to my country, and was even accuſed of endeavouring to excite a civil war. Yet it was through my exertions that peace ſtill prevailed in the neighbourhood, that the inhabitants were not divided into parties, and that the moral virtues of the goſpel ſprang up in every heart. The Commiſſary, however, accuſed me, and I was arreſted. And as my worthy pariſhioners endeavoured to defend me, in ſpite of my efforts

forts to diſſuade them, I was repreſented as ſtill more criminal; and on this account, a few days after, an order came for my deportation.—O my father! dragged from dungeon to dungeon, loaded with irons, and overwhelmed with miſery and anxieties, my fortitude at length deſerted me, and ſhowed me my own weakneſs. Each night, as ſoon as the door of my dark and diſmal priſon was barred and bolted, when I was thus concealed from the view of my jailors, your ſon burſt into tears, and the miniſter of the altar of God forgot the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt to weep over his own. Alas! how weak is man, when God for a ſingle moment leaves him to his own ſtrength!

Providence, however, at length always holds out a ſupporting hand to encourage and ſtrengthen the repentant ſinner. I arrived at Rochefort, and even there, in the abode of crimes and wickedneſs, I, as it were, met with my guardian angels. O great God! and could I ſtill repine? Ah, may my mouth never again be opened to murmur at thy ways! O my Creator! may thy goodneſs illuminate my ſoul; may it be the guide of my heart; and may I at length be worthy to inhabit the obſcurity of the tomb, together with the elect, and with my virtuous companions of misfortune. O my father! I have no

right to ſpeak any longer of myſelf. Theſe venerable old men, whoſe fate I am proud to participate, have taught me how to ſuffer; it was at Rochefort that I found them. The dungeon where I was entombed, already contained eight other Miniſters of the Church, in whom all the virtues were exemplified. 'Twas night when I entered that funereal abode, where a ſingle lamp trembled forth its glimmering ſepulchral light. Ah, dreadful ſight! Venerable old men lying upon the ſtones, with a little ſtraw beneath their heads, and yet all enjoying a ſweet interval of ſleep! Ah, how eaſily does innocence repoſe! Soon my eyes involuntarily fixed upon one of theſe unfortunate worthies, whoſe celeſtial countenance, ennobled by the ſilver locks of age, commanded my veneration! It was Don Louis, of the order of St. Bruno. When I beheld him, I was affected with a ſacred awe and reſpect; I approached him, threw myſelf on my knees before him, and made a vow to the Almighty, that I would devote all my cares to alleviate his miſeries. Soon however he awoke, and perceiving me, raiſed his eyes towards heaven, and ſtretching forth his hand to me, "O my ſon," ſaid he, "are you alſo a "child of the Lord? May thy faith be thy ſup-"port under perſecution, and may God ever be thy "comforter!"

" comforter !" His companions now alſo awoke, and uniting with him, collected round me, and forgot their own misfortunes, to think of mine alone. I ſeemed, as it were, the only victim, and the only one that needed their conſolation. " Mi-
" niſters of Jeſus Chriſt," exclaimed I, " O my
" fathers ! O models of fortitude and virtue ! may
" God grant me ſuch ſtrength as you poſſeſs ! and
" ſhould my weakneſs be puniſhed by long afflic-
" tions, may my faith not be ſhaken, and may I,
" by imitating you, deſerve the crown of reward
" which Heaven has in ſtore for you !"

Two days after my arrival we were removed from our priſon, to be dragged on board a ſhip, which was to tranſport us to Guiana. Here I was the companion of a great number of Eccleſiaſtics from all parts of France, among whom were ſeveral conſtitutional and married Prieſts, a great number of men of ſixty years of age, Journaliſts, Emigrants, and two Members of the Legiſlative Body, namely, Job-Aimé and Gibert-Deſmoliéres. Such were the victims of tyranny, who were heaped together on board the frigate La Décade. The aged and worthy prior of St. Claude was ill of a hernia, and could ſcarcely walk. Another of my brethren was languiſhing in a fever, and cannot live many days.

Girard

Girard d'Havelange and the virtuous Don Louis were ſinking beneath the weight of years; and moſt of the others were either ſick or infirm. In vain did the Deputies Gibert and Job-Aimé plead for theſe unfortunate people, for their voices were ſilenced and overpowered. "'Tis at Cayenne "you muſt remonſtrate," was the only anſwer they could obtain. Yes, my father! old men, heaped, as it were, upon each other, lying extended on the ground, tormented with vermin, deſtitute of linen and clothes, and worſe fed than the vileſt criminals—ſuch is the heart-rending picture the deported preſent.

To our floating dungeon no air was admitted but through a ſmall hole; and thus mephitic effluvia were continually propagating contagion, and a cadaverous and deadly ſmell ſpread throughout this burning furnace of deſtruction. Yet the ſlighteſt murmur was not heard; for all the priſoners exhibited that fortitude which innocence alone can inſpire; all had learned to endure his ſufferings in ſilence. The aſtoniſhed crew contemplated their victims with admiration. Several of the ſailors ſecretly wept over our misfortunes, and their kindneſs and humanity induced them generouſly to offer us every alleviation in their

power. O worthy Benoiſt! amiable Roſier! though we forget the names of thoſe who have loaded us with injuries, we will preſerve for ever the memory of yours impreſſed in the innermoſt folds of our hearts. Yes, honeſt and kind-hearted ſailors! ye may at leaſt enjoy the ſatisfaction of having ſaved the lives of two worthy men. If one of them, alas! (d'Havelange,) has ſince terminated his career, you at leaſt prolonged his exiſtence by your cares.

Neither have we forgotten the generoſity of ſeveral of the officers, whoſe names I would gladly mention, but it would unneceſſarily expoſe them to the hatred of the wicked and vindictive.

At length we landed in Guiana, where the inhabitants would willingly have alleviated our miſfortunes, had they not been prevented by our ſecond deportation. The Commiſſary of the Government executed with extreme rigour the orders he had no doubt received; for who would be ſo cruel or ſo depraved as of his own free motion to become the inſtrument of torture to his fellow-creatures?

The deported were divided into various claſſes; ſome being ſent off to Sinamary and its environs, while others were placed in the horrid deſerts of

Aprouayac

Aprouayac and Conanama. 'Tis from this laſt, from this devouring tomb of man, that your ſon now writes: 'tis here that, ſupported by the example of his brethren, he endeavours, through patient ſuffering, to deſerve that reward which you, my father, have merited by your virtues. Conanama is one of the remoteſt diſtricts in the colony, being ſituated in the midſt of ſurrounding foreſts, and covered with muddy moraſſes, that render the air impure by filling it with fetid exhalations. The plantations are confined to a few mis-ſhapen huts, the abode of miſery and of death. Such is the ſavage country to which we are baniſhed!

Of the eight unfortunate prieſts I found at Rochefort only two are alive. Don Louis died five days ago, and during the five days that have followed his death have the aſhes of that great and juſt man been watered with all our tears. Within an hour of the time when he breathed his laſt, that worthy old man crawled, in ſpite of my diſſuaſions, to the middle of the carbet where he lived, and there, proſtrating himſelf upon the earth in the midſt of his brethren, or rather in the midſt of ſpectres and of ſhades, and after receiving from my hands the laſt ſpiritual conſolations, he ſaid, "My brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, all the evils I have

"endured

" endured are nothing ; ſince the Redeemer " himſelf drank vinegar and gall.—Let us die " then, as the Apoſtle ſays, in the hope of en- " tering the holy city of Heaven ; let us die in " the hope that our tribulations, which have laſted " but for a moment, will ſoon lead us to eternal " glory ; let us die in the hope that Chriſt Jeſus " will one day change our vile and corruptible " body, and make it like his glorious and heavenly " body. Before we die let us pray for our perſe- " cutors, and may our prayers riſe up even to " God himſelf !" Here Don Louis ceaſed, and I recited by his ſide the prayers for the dying. But ſoon his clay-cold hand ſtiffened as I held it, and he expired in my arms.

Each day new misfortunes befel us. One victim is followed by another, and the very man who a day or two hence, perhaps to-morrow, will be overtaken by death, is now digging with pleaſure and ſatisfaction the earth that will ſoon open to receive him. The tomb indeed is the utmoſt boundary of all our ſublunary deſires ; and he who is ſtepping into it, weeps but for thoſe who ſurvive him. The cemetery where our friends repoſe is the ſcene to which we are continually directing our ſteps. There we frequently aſſemble, and love

to chooſe our laſt abode, where we hope at length to find repoſe. There each marks out the ſpace he wiſhes to occupy near the grave of his deceaſed friend, and, reclining upon his tomb, regrets that he muſt ſtill for a while be ſeparated from him. That grave which he dug with his own hands, and which is waiting for his mortal part, now becomes his hope, and five or ſix days of expected life ſeem too long a delay to his impatient ſoul.

Yeſterday a Prieſt from Brabant, who had not appeared at muſter for ſeveral days, was found in a neighbouring foreſt half eaten by wild beaſts. He had apparently been ſtarved to death. His hands were joined, and on his lifeleſs lips lay the ſign of his faith. In this ſtate ſome negroes brought him to us, and we rendered the laſt offices to this Chriſtian martyr this morning.

We are informed that in all the diſtricts where the deported are ſtationed, their fate is no leſs horrible than ours. Death ſeems to divide himſelf, in order to ſtrike them with the more rapidity: thoſe who have not fallen, languiſh in the moſt dreadful condition; and it ſeems as though this part of Guiana were inhabited but by the ſhades and phantoms of the dead.

According

According to an exact calculation, it appears probable, that of the hundred and ninety-three perſons deported, ten will not be alive five months hence. Your ſon perhaps will ere then have fallen. Yet to him the apprehenſion of his fate is far from being a ſubject of affliction. He pauſes upon it without fear; and the hope that his ſoul, thus purged by ſuffering, will be worthy to appear before the tribunal of God, ſupports and ſtrengthens him amid all his trials.

Adieu, my dear father: may the Lord protect thy old age, and may his bleſſing fall upon my ſiſter, and her poor children!

I conclude by aſking your bleſſing upon myſelf, and the benefit and aſſiſtance of your prayers.

Your dutiful and affectionate ſon †,

DA ***.

† This letter reached the family of the writer, but his father, alas! was dead. Grief had brought down his gray hairs to the grave. *Fr. Ed.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

BARBE-MARBOIS TO HIS WIFE.

Sinamary, 29th Ventôſe, in the Year VII.

I HAD ſeen almoſt all my companions in misfortune periſh at Sinamary, and was myſelf ſcarcely able to ſurvive the dreadful contagion of the place. At length, however, I began to recover my health, though I ſtill continued in a very weak ſtate, ariſing from an illneſs of five months duration; when ſuddenly, in conſequence of an unfounded and ridiculous report, that the Engliſh were coming to Sinamary, I was removed, notwithſtanding my ſickneſs, to Cayenne, under a military force, being cloſely guarded by a corporal and four ſoldiers. Thus I dragged myſelf along with great pain and difficulty acroſs the ſands, ſometimes wet through with heavy rains, ſometimes ſinking beneath a ſcorching ſun. I expected indeed to have died, had not the care I experienced in the hoſpital ſomewhat recovered my health. Hopes were given to Laffond-Ladébat and myſelf, nay, we were even

aſſured,

aſſured, on the part of the Agent, that we might ſettle in the iſland three leagues from Cayenne; and I was extremely deſirous of doing ſo, ſince the air is leſs unwholeſome there than here. When every thing was ready, both the plantation and our proviſions, I wrote to the Agent, requeſting permiſſion to ſettle three leagues from Cayenne, in a wholeſome ſpot, where we ſhould not be expoſed to the danger of being carried away by an armed force, on account of fears that were wholly chimerical. Upon this the Agent ordered notice to be given us, to be ready in an hour to return to Sinamary, and in leſs than that ſpace we were put on board an open canoe, where the ſurge came frequently over me. This canoe, in which there was no ſeat, was a quarter full of water. Thus I paſſed the night in a cold bath, expoſed to the wind, and in a cruel ſtate of ſuffering. Hence I had a relapſe of my fever, and ſince the 16th, when I arrived, I have had ſeven violent attacks.

This treatment cannot be juſtified on any ground whatever. But I omit ſuch particulars as would give you the greateſt pain. To me they muſt produce fatal conſequences; for, notwithſtanding my energy and fortitude, they will cer-

tainly ſhorten my life. Judge by what I write of that on which I am ſilent; and, if I cannot obtain juſtice, if I cannot be brought to trial, let me at leaſt be allowed to inhabit a leſs hoſtile climate. Otherwiſe the next year will be the laſt of my life; for the ſummers here are extremely fatal.

(Signed) BARBE-MARBOIS.

ARRIVAL

ARRIVAL OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS IN LONDON.

*M. de R*** to M. Lewis Zelmann, a Merchant at Hamburgh.*

London, October 27, 1798.

OF the eight deported perſons who effected their eſcape from Guiana, only four have arrived in London, namely, on the 25th September laſt. I have had occaſion to ſee Meſſrs. Pichegru and De la Rue five or ſix times, and I hope to cultivate their acquaintance ſtill further. With them is M. Doſſonville, who ſeems to be extremely attached to them. As to Adjutant-general Ramel, the Government did not permit him to remain long in England. His misfortunes have not yet obliterated the remembrance of the ſhare he took in the denunciations of Malo, at the time of the trial of La Vilheurnois. Hence, two days after his arrival, he received an order to take his departure for the continent. Being, however, totally deſtitute, Mr. Wickham generouſly ſupplied him with neceſſaries, in compaſſion to his extraordinary ſufferings.

Now that I am acquainted with General Pichegru,

gru, I am no longer ſurpriſed at his great military reputation; and you know that I am not accuſtomed to form raſh and precipitate judgments. 'Tis therefore after having long ſtudied his character, that I venture to pronounce my opinion; Pichegru then is indiſputably one of the greateſt Generals in Europe; but I do not imagine him to poſſeſs equal talents as a Stateſman. He is rather to be conſidered as one of thoſe brave men, whoſe proper place is at the head of an army. His very walk is that of a conqueror, his manner and appearance thoſe of a hero, and his countenance that of an honeſt man. He never ſpeaks but of his country, and it is eaſy to perceive that his opinion is entirely the child of patriotiſm. In general, however, he talks but little, and leaves to his friend and colleague De la Rue the buſineſs of keeping up the converſation. De la Rue ſeems to poſſeſs a ſtrong mind; his manners are noble, his language fluent, and he appears wholly engroſſed with the intereſts of France—I believe his morals to be as ſtrict as his talents are brilliant. General Pichegru ſpeaks of him as of a moſt courageous man. They are very cloſe friends.

On their arrival in London, the deported perſons had the good fortune to meet with the worthy

Tilly,

Tilly, the American Captain, who had been their deliverer, and whom the Commiſſary Jeannet had ſent from Cayenne for France to be tried there. But the veſſel that was bringing him over being taken by the Engliſh, this excellent man had the good fortune to eſcape the vengeance of the French Government. The deported were unable to offer him any other recompence than the tears of gratitude; but he was treated by the Miniſtry with the greateſt diſtinction, and every requiſite meaſure has been taken to enable him to return to his own country without incurring further danger.

Pichegru being indiſpoſed at the time of his arrival in England, the phyſicians preſcribed the country air. De la Rue, however, who continued in London for their common intereſts, went every other day to viſit his friend. The General has received, and ſtill continues to receive, daily viſits from the moſt diſtinguiſhed Members of Parliament, and other perſons of eminence.

The deported eſcaped from the place of their baniſhment in a moſt miraculous manner. During the interval therefore that will precede the publication of their own Memoirs, I ſend you the following Extract of a Letter, which contains an account of their eſcape. It is a ſimple narration communi-

cated by M. De la Rue, which he permitted me to copy, and which I am eager to tranſmit you.

" After a moſt painful voyage of fifty-two days, " the deported arrived, almoſt all in a ſtate of ſick- " neſs, at Cayenne the capital of Guiana, and ſitu- " ated in an iſland of the ſame name *. Here they " were impriſoned during a fortnight at the hoſpi- " tal, from which they were removed to a ſpot at " twenty-five leagues diſtance on the continent, in " the moſt miſerable part of the colony, where " they were placed under a guard of negro ſoldiers, " whoſe rage endeavours were made inceſſantly " to provoke againſt their priſoners, by aſſerting " that it was their intention again to reduce the " blacks to ſlavery.

" Condemned to live upon ſailors' allowance, " lodged in rooms built for negro priſons, each " moment threatened with the poniard, or with " poiſon, forced to aſſociate with the ferocious " Billaud-Varennes, loaded with humiliations, " deprived of all communication with the inhabit- " ants of the colony, ſurrounded with all the accu- " mulated cauſes of approaching deſtruction, a

* " The Agent of the Directory in this colony is one Jeannet, " who performed his revolutionary career under Danton, his " uncle."

" party

" party of them formed a plan to reſcue them-
" ſelves from this ſtate of degradation and miſery,
" and from the fate that had already fallen on the
" venerable Murinais, and which ſtill hung over
" the heads of all his ſurvivors. And though the
" difficulties they had to encounter were innume-
" rable, and the dangers terrific; yet their courage
" overcame the one, and braved the other. A mere
" Indian canoe was the only veſſel wherein they
" performed a voyage of a hundred leagues on a
" ſtormy ſea, in a track with which they were to-
" tally unacquainted, and without a compaſs. In
" this fragile bark, after having languiſhed ſix
" months and a half in an almoſt ſavage ſtate,
" eight of them committed themſelves to the
" waves: namely Meſſrs. Barthélemy and his ſer-
" vant, General Pichegru, Aubry, De la Rue,
" Willot, Doſſonville, and Ramel. They departed
" in the night of the 3d of June, and on the 5th
" met with a heavy ſea which drove them on
" the coaſt, wrecked their canoe, and deprived
" them of the little biſcuit that remained *.

" Foreſts, which had hitherto known no inha-

* " This explains a paſſage in Ramel's Narrative, that has
" given cauſe for much ſurpriſe: no one believing it poſſible to
" exiſt ſix days entirely without eating." *Fr. Ed.*

" bitants

" bitants but tigers and other wild beaſts, now
" became their aſylum. Tormented with the fear
" of being ſtill upon French territory, and covered
" by innumerable inſects of various ſpecies, ſink-
" ing with hunger and thirſt, expoſed to the fero-
" city of the Maroon negroes who inſeſt this part
" of Guiana, they continued in this dreadful ſitua-
" tion till two days after, when they were liberated
" by two Dutch ſoldiers, whom chance directed that
" way. Miſtaken at firſt by theſe men for enemies,
" they had nearly become the objects of their fire,
" till, by the ſignals of friendſhip they held out,
" they diſſipated their ſuſpicions, and were in-
" formed they were only three leagues from a
" Dutch poſt called Orange.

" On their arrival there they obtained, without
" difficulty, of the Commandant, all the needful
" accommodations for their journey to Surinam,
" where they were received in the kindeſt and moſt
" honourable manner. But, through fear of ex-
" poſing the colony, and particularly its worthy
" Governor, to the vengeance of the French Direc-
" tory, whoſe fatal influence on Holland is too
" well known, they determined to leave it a few
" days afterwards, except Monſ. Barthélemy, whoſe
" bad ſtate of health would not have permitted

" him

" him to ſupport the fatigues and encounter the
" dangers that ſtill awaited them: for they endea-
" voured in vain to procure a paſſage on board
" ſome merchant-ſhip, all of them being enſured
" under an expreſs condition not to take any paſ-
" ſengers whatever.

" Thus they were obliged to embark on board a
" mere ſhallop, in ſeas that were continually in-
" feſted by the pirates of Hugues, Vice-director of
" Guadaloupe. Scarcely had they got out to ſea
" before they were attacked by a privateer, which,
" however, fortunately proved to be Engliſh. The
" next day a ſecond privateer came up with them,
" under French colours, a black crew, and the
" captain ſpeaking French, all characteriſtic marks
" of her being one of Hugues's cruiſers. For more
" than an hour the deported thought themſelves
" on the point of falling into the hands of that
" pirate; and therefore, in the conviction that
" death would be their lot, they all reſolved to riſk
" the immediate ſacrifice of their lives, in an at-
" tempt to take the privateer. Nor did they, till
" the captain came on board their veſſel, diſcover
" that he was Engliſh. This captain, like the
" former, treated them with great humanity. A
" third veſſel, however, ſoon gave them chaſe;

" and

" and to avoid her they ran into the mouth of a
" river, which they found to be that of Berbice.

" The governor of this territory, and Colonel
" Heſlop, Commandant of the troops, laviſhed on
" them all the attentions that a ſpirit of generoſity
" could ſuggeſt to men of honour and ſenſibility.
" The latter conveyed them himſelf to Demarary,
" on board a ſhip very completely armed.

" The highly flattering reception, however,
" which they experienced from the Governor and
" inhabitants of Demarary, was ſoon clouded by a
" new and painful ſeparation. Meſſrs. Willot and
" Aubry were attacked with a very dangerous
" fever, and were totally unable to undertake the
" voyage. The reſt were put on board a very fine
" merchant-ſhip, called the Grenade, commanded
" by the very worthy Capt. Paichard. But con-
" trary winds not permitting the fleet to which the
" Grenade belonged to put into Martinique, the
" exiles were carried to St. Euſtatius, where they
" were treated with all the affability and attention
" that could be expected from the very reſpectable
" Governor and the worthy inhabitants of that
" iſland. Soon afterwards, Admiral Hervey, on
" the information of Colonel Heſlop, gave orders
" for their ſafe and commodious conveyance; and

" they

" they ſailed on board the *Aimable*, commanded " by Capt. Lobb, whoſe kindneſs and attention give " him a claim to their eternal gratitude and eſteem. " They arrived in London on the 25th Sept. laſt; " whence they are extremely impatient to depart, " that they may have it in their power to ſeize " every opportunity again to be uſeful to their " native country."

To this narrative, which cannot but be extremely intereſting to you, I will add an account of the eſcape of Sir Sydney Smith and the long captivity he endured. They are not written, it is true, by Sir Sydney himſelf; but he relates his adventures with ſo much elegance and ſpirit, that they have made a very ſtrong impreſſion on my mind. Indeed, when I ſhowed him the following narrative, of which I ſend you a copy, he expreſſed great ſurpriſe at the fidelity of my memory.

Account of Sir Sydney Smith's Impriſonment and Eſcape.

" When I was taken at ſea," ſaid the gallant Commodore, " I was accompanied by my ſecretary " and M. de Tr——, a French gentleman, who " had emigrated from his country, and who, it had

" and to avoid her they ran into the mouth of a " river, which they found to be that of Berbice.

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" been agreed, was to paſs for my ſervant, in the
" hope of ſaving his life by that diſguiſe. Nor
" were our expectations fruſtrated; for John (as
" I called him) was lucky enough to eſcape all
" ſuſpicion.

" On my arrival in France, I was treated at firſt
" with unexampled rigour, and was told that I ought
" to be tried under a military commiſſion and ſhot
" as a ſpy. The government, however, gave
" orders for my removal to Paris, where I was ſent
" to the Abbaye, and, together with my two com-
" panions in misfortune, was kept a cloſe pri-
" ſoner.

" Meanwhile, the means of eſcape were the
" conſtant object on which we employed our
" minds. The window of our priſon was toward
" the ſtreet; and from this circumſtance we de-
" rived a hope ſooner or later to effect our object.
" We already contrived to carry on a tacit and
" regular correſpondence, by means of ſigns, with
" ſome women, who could ſee us from their apart-
" ments, and who ſeemed to take the moſt lively
" intereſt in our fate. They propoſed themſelves
" to aſſiſt in facilitating my liberation; an offer
" which I accepted with great pleaſure; and it is
" my duty to confeſs, that notwithſtanding the

" enormous

" enormous expenſes occaſioned by their fruitleſs
" attempts, they have not leſs claim to my grati-
" tude. Till the time of my departure, in which,
" however, they had no ſhare, their whole employ-
" ment was endeavouring to ſave me; and they
" had the addreſs at all times to deceive the vigi-
" lance of my keepers. On both ſides we uſed
" borrowed names, under which we correſponded,
" theirs being taken from the ancient mythology;
" ſo that I had now a direct communication with
" Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

" At length I was removed to the Temple,
" where my three Muſes ſoon contrived means of
" intelligence, and every day offered me new
" ſchemes for effecting my eſcape. At firſt I ea-
" gerly accepted them all, though reflection ſoon
" deſtroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty
" had given birth. I was alſo reſolved not to
" leave my ſecretary in priſon, and ſtill leſs poor
" John, whoſe ſafety was more dear to me than
" my own emancipation.

" In the Temple, John was allowed to enjoy a
" conſiderable degree of liberty. He was lightly
" dreſt like an Engliſh jockey, and knew how to
" aſſume the manners that correſponded with that
" character. Every one was fond of John, who

" drank and fraterniſed with the turnkeys, and
" made love to the keeper's daughter, who was
" perſuaded he would marry her; and as the little
" Engliſh jockey was not ſuppoſed to have received
" a very brilliant education, he had learnt, by
" means of ſtudy, ſufficiently to mutilate his native
" tongue. John appeared very attentive and
" eager in my ſervice, and always ſpoke to his
" maſter in a very reſpectful manner. I ſcolded
" him from time to time *with much gravity*; and
" he played his part ſo well, that I frequently ſur-
" priſed myſelf forgetting the friend, and ſeriouſly
" giving orders to the valet. At length John's
" wife, Madame de Tr * * *, a very intereſting
" lady, arrived at Paris, and made the moſt un-
" common exertions to liberate us from our cap-
" tivity. She dared not come, however, to the
" Temple through fear of diſcovery; but from a
" neighbouring houſe ſhe daily beheld her huſband,
" who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike in
" ſecret the pleaſure of contemplating the friend of
" his boſom. Madame de Tr * * * now commu-
" nicated a plan for delivering us from priſon to a
" ſenſible and courageous young man of her ac-
" quaintance, who immediately acceded to it
" without heſitation. This Frenchman, who was

" ſincerely

" ſincerely attached to his country, ſaid to Madame
" de Tr***, 'I will ſerve Sydney Smith with
" pleaſure, becauſe I believe the Engliſh govern-
" ment intend to reſtore Louis XVIII. to the
" throne; but if the Commodore is to fight
" againſt France, and not for the King of France,
" Heaven forbid I ſhould aſſiſt him!'

" Ch. L'Oiſeau (for that was the name our
" young friend aſſumed) was connected with the
" agents of the King, then confined in the Tem-
" ple, and for whom he was alſo contriving the
" means of eſcape. It was intended we ſhould all
" get off together. M. La Vilheurnois being con-
" demned only to a year's impriſonment, was
" reſolved not to quit his preſent ſituation; but
" Brothier and Duverne de Preſle were to follow
" our example. Had our ſcheme ſucceeded, this
" Duverne would not, perhaps, have ceaſed to
" be an honeſt man; for till then he had con-
" ducted himſelf as ſuch. His condition muſt now
" be truly deplorable; for I do not think him
" formed by nature for the commiſſion of crimes.

" Every thing was now prepared for the execu-
" tion of our project. The means propoſed by
" Ch. L'Oiſeau appeared practicable, and we re-
" ſolved to adopt them. A hole twelve feet long

" was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the
" priſon, and the apartments to which the cellar
" belonged were at our diſpoſal. Mademoiſelle
" D***, rejecting every prudential conſideration,
" generouſly came to reſide there for a week, and
" being young, the other lodgers attributed to her
" alone the frequent viſits of Ch. L'Oiſeau. Thus
" every thing ſeemed to favour our wiſhes. No
" one in the houſe in queſtion had any ſuſpicions;
" and the amiable little child Madlle. D*** had
" with her, and who was only ſeven years old,
" was ſo far from betraying our ſecret, that ſhe
" always beat a little drum, and made a noiſe,
" while the work was going on in the cellar.

" Meanwhile L'Oiſeau had continued his labours
" a conſiderable time without any appearance of
" day-light, and he was apprehenſive he had at-
" tempted the opening conſiderably too low. It
" was neceſſary, therefore, that the wall ſhould be
" founded; and for this purpoſe a maſon was re-
" quired. Madame de Tr*** recommended
" one, and Ch. L'Oiſeau undertook to bring him,
" and to detain him in the cellar till we had
" eſcaped, which was to take place that very day.
" The worthy maſon perceived the object was to
" ſave ſome of the victims of misfortune, and

" came

" came without hesitation. He only said, '*If I* " *am arrested, take care of my poor children.*'

" But what a misfortune now frustrated all our " hopes! Though the wall was founded with the " greatest precaution, the last stone fell out, and " rolled into the garden of the Temple. The " centinel perceived it; the alarm was given; the " guard arrived; and all was discovered. For- " tunately, however, our friends had time to make " their escape, and none of them were taken.

" They had, indeed, taken their measures with " the greatest care; and when the Commissaries " of the *Bureau Central* came to examine the cellar " and apartment, they found only a few pieces of " furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and " hay, and the hats with tri-coloured cockades " provided for our flight, as those we wore were " black.

" This first attempt, though extremely well " conducted, having failed, I wrote," continued Sir Sydney, " to Mad. de Tr***, both to console " her and our young friend, who was miserable " at having foundered just as he was going into " port. We were so far, however, from suffering " ourselves to be discouraged, that we still con- " tinued to form new schemes for our deliverance.

" The

" The keeper perceived it, and I was frequently ſo
" open as to acknowledge the fact. ' *Commodore,*'
" ſaid he, ' *your friends are deſirous of liberating*
" *you, and they only diſcharge their duty. I alſo am*
" *doing mine in watching you ſtill more narrowly.*'
" Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled
" ſeverity, yet he never departed from the rules of
" civility and politeneſs. He treated all the pri-
" ſoners with kindneſs, and even piqued himſelf
" on his generoſity. Various propoſals were made
" to him, but he rejected them all, watched us
" the more cloſely, and preſerved the profoundeſt
" ſilence. One day when I dined with him, he
" perceived that I fixed my attention on a window
" then partly open, and which looked upon the
" ſtreet. I ſaw his uneaſineſs, and it amuſed me;
" however, to put an end to it, I ſaid to him,
" laughing, ' *I know what you are thinking of;*
" *but fear not. It is now three o'clock. I will make*
" *a truce with you till midnight; and I give you my*
" *word of honour, that till that time, even were the*
" *doors open, I would not eſcape. When that hour is*
" *paſſed, my promiſe is at an end, and we are enemies*
" *again.*'—' *Sir,*' replied he, ' *your word is a ſafer*
" *bond than my bars and bolts: till midnight, there-*
" *fore, I am perfectly eaſy.*'

" When

" When we roſe from table, the keeper took me " aſide, and ſpeaking with warmth, ſaid, ' *Com-* " *modore, the Boulevard is not far. If you are in-* " *clined to take the air there, I will conduct you.*' " My aſtoniſhment was extreme; nor could I " conceive how this man, who appeared ſo ſevere, " and ſo uneaſy, ſhould thus ſuddenly perſuade " himſelf to make me ſuch a propoſal. I accepted " it, however, and in the evening we went out. " From that time forward this confidence always " continued. Whenever I was deſirous to enjoy " perfect liberty, I offered him a *ſuſpenſion of arms* " till a certain hour. This my generous enemy " never refuſed; but when the armiſtice was at an " end, his vigilance was unbounded. Every poſt " was examined; and if the government ordered " that I ſhould be kept cloſe, the order was en- " forced with the greateſt care. Thus I was again " free to contrive and prepare for my eſcape, and " he to treat me with the utmoſt rigour.

" This man had a very accurate idea of the ob- " ligations of honour. He often ſaid to me, " ' *Were you even under ſentence of death, I would* " *permit you to go out on your parole, becauſe I ſhould* " *be certain of your return. Many very honeſt pri-* " *ſoners, and I myſelf among the reſt, would not re-*

" *turn*

" *turn in the like caſe; but an officer, and eſpecially*
" *an officer of diſtinction, holds his honour dearer than*
" *his life. I know it to be a fact, Commodore; and*
" *therefore I ſhould be leſs uneaſy, if you deſired the*
" *gates to be always open.*'

" My keeper was right. While I enjoyed my
" liberty, I endeavoured even to loſe ſight of the
" idea of my eſcape; and I ſhould have been
" averſe to employ for that object, means that had
" occurred to my imagination during my hours of
" liberty. One day I received a letter containing
" matter of great importance, which I had the
" ſtrongeſt deſire immediately to read; but as its
" contents related to my intended deliverance, I
" aſked to return to my room, and break off the
" truce. The keeper however refuſed, ſaying,
" with a laugh, that he wanted to take ſome ſleep.
" Accordingly he lay down, and I poſtponed the
" peruſal of my letter till the evening.

" Meanwhile no opportunity of flight offered;
" but, on the contrary, the Directory ordered
" me to be treated with rigour. The keeper
" punctually obeyed all the orders he received;
" and he who the preceding evening had granted
" me the greateſt liberty, now doubled my guard,
" in order to exerciſe a more perfect vigilance.

" Among

" Among the priſoners was a man condemned " for certain political offences to ten years con- " finement, and whom all the other priſoners ſuſ- " pected of acting in the deteſtable capacity of a " ſpy upon his companions. Their ſuſpicions " indeed appeared to have ſome foundation, and " I felt the greateſt anxiety on account of my " friend John. I was however fortunate enough " ſoon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange " of priſoners being about to take place, I applied " to have *my ſervant* included in the cartel; and " though this requeſt might eaſily have been re- " fuſed, fortunately no difficulty aroſe, and it was " granted.

" When the day of his departure arrived, my " kind and affectionate friend could ſcarcely be " prevailed on to leave me; till at length he " yielded to my moſt earneſt entreaties. We " parted with tears in our eyes, which to me were " the tears of pleaſure, becauſe my friend was " leaving a ſituation of the greateſt danger. The " amiable *jockey* was regretted by every one: our " turnkeys drank a good journey to him, nor " could the girl he had courted help weeping for " his departure; while her mother, who thought

" John a very *good youth*, hoped ſhe ſhould one
" day call him her ſon-in-law.

" I was ſoon informed of his arrival in London;
" and this circumſtance rendered my own cap-
" tivity leſs painful. I ſhould have been happy to
" have alſo exchanged my ſecretary; but as he
" had no other dangers to encounter than thoſe
" which were common to us both, he always re-
" jected the idea, conſidering it as a violation of
" that friendſhip, of which he has given me ſo
" many proofs.

" On the 4th Sept. (18th Fructidor) the rigour
" of my confinement was ſtill further increaſed.
" The keeper, whoſe name was Laſne, was diſ-
" placed; I was again kept cloſe priſoner; and,
" together with my liberty, loſt the hopes of a
" peace, which I had thought approaching, and
" which this event muſt contribute to poſtpone.

" At this time a propoſal was made to me for
" my eſcape, which I adopted as my laſt reſource.
" The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up
" for my removal to another priſon, and thus to
" carry me off. A French gentleman, M. de
" Phélipeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and
" generoſity, offered to execute this enterpriſe.

" The

" The order then being accurately imitated,
" and, by means of a bribe, the real ſtamp of the
" miniſter's ſignature procured, nothing remained
" but to find men bold enough to put the plan in
" execution. Phélipeaux and Ch. L'Oiſeau would
" have eagerly undertaken it; but both being
" known, and even notorious at the Temple, it
" was abſolutely neceſſary to employ others.
" Meſſrs. B*** and L*** therefore, both men of
" tried courage, accepted the office with pleaſure
" and alacrity.

" With this order then they came to the Tem-
" ple; M. B*** in the dreſs of an adjutant,
" and M. L*** as an officer. The keeper having
" peruſed the order, and attentively examined the
" miniſter's ſignature, went into another room,
" leaving my two deliverers for ſome time in the
" cruelleſt uncertainty and ſuſpenſe. At length
" he returned, accompanied by the regiſter (or
" greffier) of the priſon, and ordered me to be
" called. When the regiſter informed me of the
" orders of the Directory, I pretended to be very
" much concerned at it; but the Adjutant aſſured
" me, in the moſt ſerious manner, 'that the go-
" vernment were very far from intending to ag-
" gravate my misfortunes, and that I ſhould be

" very comfortable at the place whither he was " ordered to conduct me.' I expreſſed my grati- " tude to all the ſervants employed about the " priſon, and, as you may imagine, was not very " long in packing up my clothes.

" At my return, the regiſter obſerved, that at " leaſt ſix men from the guard muſt accompany " me; and the Adjutant, without being in the " leaſt confounded, acquieſced in the juſtice of the " remark, and gave orders for them to be called " out. But *on reflection*, and remembering, as it " were, the laws of chivalry and of honour, he " addreſſed me, ſaying, ' *Commodore, you are an* " *officer. I am an officer alſo. Your parole will be* " *enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an* " *eſcort.*'—' *Sir,*' replied I, ' *if that is ſufficient, I* " *ſwear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany* " *you wherever you chooſe to conduct me.*' Every " one applauded this *noble action*, while I confeſs I " had myſelf great difficulty to avoid ſmiling.

" The keeper now aſked for a diſcharge, and " the regiſter gave the book to M. B***, who " boldly ſigned it, with a proper flouriſh, L. Oger, " Adjutant-general. Meanwhile I employed the " attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with " favours, to prevent them from having time to " reflect:

" reflect: nor indeed did they ſeem to have any
" other thought than their own advantage. The
" regiſter and keeper accompanied us as far as the
" ſecond court; and at length the laſt gate was
" opened, and we left them after a long inter-
" change of ceremony and politeneſs.

" We inſtantly entered a hackney-coach, and the
" *Adjutant* ordered the coachman to drive to the
" ſuburb of St. Germain. But the ſtupid fellow
" had not gone a hundred paces before he broke
" his wheel againſt a poſt, and hurt an unfortu-
" nate paſſenger; and this unlucky incident
" brought a crowd around us, who were very
" angry at the injury the poor fellow ſuſtained.
" We quitted the coach, took our portmanteaus in
" our hands, and went off in an inſtant. Though
" the people obſerved us much, they did not ſay a
" word to *us*, only abuſing the coachman; and
" when our driver demanded his fare, M. L***,
" through an inadvertency that might have cauſed
" us to be arreſted, gave him a double louis
" d'or.

" Having ſeparated, when we quitted the car-
" riage, I arrived at the appointed rendezvous
" with only my ſecretary and M. de Phélipeaux,
" who had joined us near the priſon; and though

" I was

" I was very desirous of waiting for my two friends,
" to thank and take my leave of them, M. de
" Phélipeaux observed, there was not a moment
" to be lost. I therefore postponed till another
" opportunity my expression of gratitude to my
" deliverers; and we immediately set off for
" Rouen, where M. R*** had made every pre-
" paration for our reception.

" At Rouen we were obliged to stay several
" days; and as our passports were perfectly regu-
" lar, we did not take much care to conceal our-
" selves, but in the evening we walked about the
" town, or took the air on the banks of the
" Seine.

" At length, every thing being ready for us to
" cross the channel, we quitted Rouen, and,
" without encountering any further dangers, I ar-
" rived in London, together with my secretary
" and my friend M. de Phélipeaux, who could not
" prevail on himself to leave us."

Such, or nearly such, my dear friend, is the account given by Sir Sydney Smith of his escape; which, though I have written with haste, I have endeavoured to relate with accuracy. I am happy in having frequent opportunities of seeing Sir Sydney,

ney, who is a brave and generous-hearted man, with a fine countenance, and eyes that ſparkle with intelligence. His very appearance ſhows that he has an ardent imagination, which naturally prompts him to form and execute bold and important enterpriſes; and he ſeems, as it were, to be born to deſerve glory, and to acquire it.

With M. Phélipeaux, whom I alſo frequently ſee at Sir Sydney's, I have long been acquainted. He poſſeſſes talents as an officer of engineers, is a worthy man, of a mild and engaging countenance, and of tried and undoubted courage. His health ſeems very delicate; and yet, although a young man, he has experienced many extraordinary adventures; having ſerved in all the campaigns in the army of Condé. He commanded in Berry, and eſcaped death by breaking out of a ſtate priſon. The Engliſh government has lately offered him a brevet of colonel, which he refuſed, ſaying he was in the ſervice of the King of France, and would accept no other ſo long as the leaſt hope remains of being uſeful to his country.

But to return to the deported. Though but little acquainted with their plans, I cannot imagine they will continue long in London. They talk already of going to the continent. Should they go to

Hamburg, I will write you by them; but ſome buſineſs, which I cannot bring to a concluſion, detains me here at preſent. Great changes are announced as about to take place in France. May they be realized for the good of all parties! But, alas! what endleſs evils oppreſs mankind! What torrents of blood have flowed ſince the commencement of the fatal revolution! What torrents of blood muſt ſtill be ſhed!

Adieu, my dear friend. Continue to write to me frequently. Embrace for me our dear Paul, and remember me to the family of Pelſenn. I ſend you the books you aſk for, a work recently publiſhed on the French revolution, and the laſt number of Mallet-du-Pan's Mercure Britannique.

Believe me wholly yours,

DE R***.

THE PRESENT STATE

OF ALL THE

DEPORTED PERSONS, ON THE 12TH FRUCTIDOR IN THE YEAR VII. (AUGUST 29TH, 1799).

OF the ſixteen perſons firſt deported to Guiana, ſix, as we have already ſeen in the courſe of this work, died at Sinamary, under the weight of miſery and perſecution: namely,

M. de Murinais, an old field-marſhal, and ſince Pariſian deputy to the Council of Elders.

Tronçon-du-Coudray, a pleader celebrated for his eloquence, and a member of the Council of Elders.

Rovère, a member of the Convention, and ſince re-elected to the Council of Elders.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe, formerly an attorney, member of the Convention, and deputy in the Council of Five Hundred.

La Villeurnois, formerly a maſter of requeſts, and agent to Louis XVIII. condemned by a miliary commiſſion to a year's impriſonment, and afterwards deported to Guiana without trial.

Brothier, a miniſter of religion, ex-profeſſor of mathematics, and, during the revolution, an agent

to Louis XVIII. condemned to ten years impriſonment by a military commiſſion, and deported as the laſt.

The eight following made their eſcape; namely,

Pichegru, ex-general (in chief), and ſince deputy and preſident of the Council of Five Hundred.

De la Rue, deputy from la Nièvre, and member of the Committee of Inſpectors of the ſame Council.

The two laſt remained ſome months in London, but are now in Germany.

Ramel, commander of the grenadier corps of the Legiſlative Body, left his companions in London, and went over to the Continent to join his friend Dumas, together with whom he wrote his Narrative; nor could he indeed have choſen a better coadjutor. They are now both at Altona near Hamburg.

Doſſonville, ex-agent of police, has lately left Hamburg to join Pichegru.

Aubry, an officer of artillery, a member of the Convention, and deputy to the Council of Five Hundred. Various reports prevail concerning him. He is ſaid by ſome to have died at Déméraary, and by others to have arrived at Hamburg; but

but nothing certain is known relative to his fate. He was, however, inſcribed in the liſt of emigrants, and the little property he ſtill poſſeſſed put in ſequeſtration. His wife had made many ſacrifices to procure him ſome relief, which ſhe ſent to him at Cayenne. This conſignment was ſeized by Jeannet.

Willot, general of brigade, and deputy from Marſeilles to the Legiſlative Body. He was in London on the 11th of laſt month, and intended to take his departure to join Pichegru. By this time they are probably together.

Barthélemy, ambaſſador to Switzerland, and afterwards member of the Directory. He was obliged to leave London and go to the Continent.

Le Tellier.—But my pen makes an involuntary pauſe, and my eyes overflow with tears of ſimpathy and grief.—Le Tellier is no more!—O Barthélemy! baniſhment was not the heavieſt blow thy feeling ſoul endured! Yes, thou hadſt once a generous friend, whoſe cares prolonged thy life, and that friend breathes no more. Le Tellier, alas! died on his paſſage from Démérary to London. "My dear maſter," ſaid he, as he was breathing his laſt, "live but happy the reſt of thy days, and "I die contented."

The afflicted Barthélemy, oppreſſed with the profoundeſt grief, could ſcarcely be perſuaded to leave the corpſe of his friend, which he bathed with his tears and preſſed to his boſſom, as though he would have re-animated it by imparting to it his own life; and it was with great difficulty he was at length removed from this melancholy ſcene.

Yes, excellent Le Tellier, thou art no more! But thy heroic actions ſhall long ſurvive thee.—May thy name never be pronounced without reſpect and veneration! May thy memory be handed down to the lateſt poſterity, and the remembrance of thy virtues ſometimes ſilence the remembrance of the crimes that have polluted our unhappy country!

Of the exiles that refuſed to make their eſcape, only two are ſtill at Guiana; namely,

Barbé-Marbois, ex-intendant of St. Domingo, and member of both the Legiſlative Aſſemblies.

Laffond-Ladébat, a banker, Pariſian deputy to the Legiſlative Aſſembly, and afterwards re-elected to the Council of Elders, of which he was Preſident on the 18th Fructidor.

Theſe two deputies are ſtill in baniſhment at Sinamary, where death continually hangs over them, though it has not yet deſtroyed them; and

they

they wait with fortitude for the time when juſtice ſhall liberate them from this dread abode. At length permiſſion has been granted them, and alſo to Job-Aimé, to go to the iſle of Olêron. Heaven grant, that when this permiſſion arrives, they may ſtill be alive, and able to make uſe of it!

Job-Aimé is ſtill living. On his arrival at Guiana he obtained permiſſion from Jéannet's ſucceſſor, Brunel, to eſtabliſh himſelf in a plantation in the neighbourhood of Cayenne.

Gibert-Deſmolières.—This worthy man, who was always ſo uſeful to his country, has ceaſed to exiſt. He was in the ſame plantation with Job-Aimé, where, after ſeveral violent fits of illneſs, he began to accuſtom himſelf to the pernicious climate he inhabited. But, exhauſted by the exceſſive heats which are reflected from a burning ſand, he could not reſiſt the temptation to bathe; in conſequence of which his fever returned; and being ſubject to the gout, he had alſo a dreadful attack of that diſorder, and expired a few days after.

Twelve of thoſe who were deported by the frigate La Décade, have lately effected their eſcape, having employed the ſame means, and taken the ſame route, as Pichegru and his friends, though it is not yet known whether they had the ſame ſucceſs.

Almoſt all the reſt, prieſts, journaliſts, and emigrants, have died of mifery and want.

According to the Report of Deſvieux, that cruel commandant, of whom the exiles had ſo much cauſe to complain, there only exiſted at Guiana, at the time when it was drawn up, forty of their number. Governors of France, ye that are acquainted with this fact, remove your victims from that murderous climate! Men of every party, if you are deaf to the voice of juſtice, liſten at leaſt to the voice of humanity! Join in demanding that theſe unfortunate men ſhould be at length reſcued from an approaching and a painful death. A few days longer, and they will have fallen. Perhaps even now the laſt of them has expired, and it is no longer in your power to ſave them!

MEMOIRE

MEMOIRE OF BARBE-MARBOIS,

ADDRESSED TO HIS WIFE.

——Audi
Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio eſt.

Sinamary, 12 Thermidor, in the year VI.

My dear Eliza,

I WROTE you on the 20th Ventôſe, requeſting you to uſe all your exertions to bring on my trial. I ſent you my letter at twelve different times, ſome by friends, ſome by the depoſitaries of public authority, requeſting them to peruſe it before they ſent it. I have purſued the ſame method with the preſent.

A captive, at the diſtance of 1600 leagues from my native country, and in abſolute dependance upon thoſe by whom I am baniſhed; alone, as it were, before the aſſembled nation, I enter on my defence, deprived, alas! of every aid but that of truth and juſtice.

Time, which brings all human affairs to a cloſe, will one day alſo put a period to my baniſhment, either by laying me with my companions in the cemetery of Sinamary, or by reſtoring me to my native land.

land. But a premature, a violent, and a uſeleſs death would fix an indelible ſpot on thoſe who ſhould be the authors of it; whereas my being recalled, and afterwards tried, would be an act of equity, that would do honour to my country, reſtore vigour to the laws, and give ſplendour to the conſtitution. Elevated with this hope, I ceaſe to conſider myſelf as an inſulated being; for, if juſtice is dear to man, and if my fellow citizens really love it, their will muſt be, that I ſhould be brought to trial.

In every page of the Conſtitution they will find an anſwer equally favourable and energetic to my demand *: and as I would never have ſuffered theſe

* "No one ſhall be proſecuted, accuſed, arreſted, or impri-
" ſoned, except in the caſes determined by the law, and according
" to the forms preſcribed." Art. VIII.

"No one ſhall be tried, until he has been heard or legally
" called." Art. XI.

"The members of the Legiſlative Body, from the time of their
" election and until thirty days after the expiration of their func-
" tions, ſhall only be tried according to the forms preſcribed in the
" following articles. For criminal acts they may be ſeized *flagrante*
" *delicto*; but information thereof ſhall be communicated with-
" out delay to the Legiſlative Body, and the proſecution ſhall not
" be continued until the Councils ſhall have ſanctioned the accu-
" ſation." Art. CXII.

"Excepting the caſe of *flagrans delictum* they ſhall not be
" brought before the officers of police, or put under arreſtation,
" until the Councils have propoſed and ordered their trial."
Art. CXIII.

" In

theſe laws to be infringed with regard to any one of my colleagues, I was very far from believing they could have been violated in my caſe. Still leſs did I apprehend, that the national repreſentation, for the ſecurity of which all the members ſtand pledged to each other, and have a mutual intereſt in ſupporting the laws, would be ſo far miſled by a fatal error as to ſtrike a mortal blow at its own exiſtence, by ſacrificing a conſiderable portion of its members.

At the time this blow fell upon us, the Legiſlative Body expected that thoſe who were the authors of it would produce the proofs of our crimes; that theſe would be ſo arranged as to aſſign to each of the accuſed his ſhare of the crime; and that the criminals, moſt of whom did not even know each other even by ſight, would be accuſed individually,

" In the caſes ſtated in the two laſt articles, members of the Le-
" giſlative Body ſhall not be brought before any other tribunal
" than the High Court of Juſtice." Art. CXIV.

" They ſhall be brought before the ſame Court for acts of
" treaſon, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the conſtitution
" of the State, and crimes againſt the internal ſafety of the Re-
" public." Art. CXV.

" No denunciation againſt a member of the Legiſlative Body
" can be made a ground for a proceſs, unleſs drawn up in writing,
" ſigned, and addreſſed to the Council of Five Hundred." Art. CXVI.

" Accuſation pronounced againſt a member of the Legiſlative
" Body involves his ſuſpenſion." Art. CXXIII.

and not *en maſſe*. Hence their juſt and generous impatience frequently broke out, and on the 23 Pluviôſe, the very day on which I wrote to you to accelerate my trial, the Repreſentative Bailleul ſpoke as follows, in the name of the Committee appointed, after our condemnation, to declare our crimes:— "It is not," ſaid he, "through want of zeal that "the Committee have not yet brought up their re- "port relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor:" and after this candid declaration, he added, "They "are expecting very important papers ſeized by "the Miniſter of Police."

The Committee expected them. O Juſtice! Then they poſſeſſed them not, although, five months before, they ſent us into baniſhment, or rather condemned us to death. This perhaps is the firſt inſtance upon record, in which, after ſo long an interval, and after the death of part of the condemned, it has been talked of to produce the proofs of an offence puniſhed proviſorily with a mortal penalty. If I am able to demonſtrate my own innocence, it will be a new example of the danger of thus overturning the immutable order of all criminal procedures, and the order of reaſon itſelf, which requires the proof of the crime always to precede its puniſhments: and henceforward ſhall this caſe be cited

cited in the hiſtory of extraordinary judgments, as one moſt calculated to ſhow the dreadful conſequences of precipitate and anticipated condemnations.

But if you had not theſe proofs after an interval of five months, you have ſurely received them ſince; for the Miniſter of Police, you ſay, had ſeized them.

At length, after another month had elapſed, the Council of Five Hundred, received on the 26th Ventôſe, this long-conſidered Report, which had been announced ſix months before, and which they ought to have received previous to our condemnation. This Report, which was at length tardily produced, as the act of accuſation againſt the deported perſons, contains the moſt evident proofs of my innocence.

It is true I am here ſpeaking only of myſelf; though, according to an obvious rule of natural juſtice, the innocence of my companions muſt be preſumed, as well as my own, till ſentence is pronounced. But as every accuſation ought to be perſonal and particular, ſo ought likewiſe the defence. Mine, which was from the firſt ſo eaſy, is rendered, if poſſible, ſtill more ſimple by this Report, of which the printing was decreed: and inſtead of the trite aſſertion of, "*I am innocent*," which I might utter in common with the oppreſſed, I may ſay, "*I am*

" *innocent by the Report of Bailleul.*" This Report I read with the utmoſt avidity, rather wiſhing, than hoping or expecting, to find ſome accuſation or inſinuation againſt myſelf. I wiſhed it, I ſay; becauſe I ſhould then have known to what I had to reply; whereas now, though not accuſed of any crime whatever, I am ſtill equally compelled to vindicate myſelf, ſince I am puniſhed as though I were not only accuſed, but tried and condemned.

" Your Committee," ſaid Bailleul in his Report, " have collected ALL THE FACTS HITHERTO " KNOWN."—" *All the facts!*" Here, then, is the accuſation, together with the facts on which it is grounded. I will proceed with the help of this glimmering of juſtice; and if all the facts are totally foreign to me, it is evident I am not comprehended in the accuſation. On reading this declaration then, which to me is ſo important, I redoubled my attention, and ſought throughout the Report both for my name and the facts that might be laid to my charge; but my name is not once mentioned. Among the facts, however, is one in which I confeſs I participated together with the majority of the Councils.

" The *horde*, ſtrengthened by the royaliſts," ſays the Repreſentative Bailleul, " have placed

" Barthélemy

" Barthélemy in the Directory; that Barthélemy " who was ſo much ſpoken of in the correſpondence " of Le Maître; that Barthélemy who wrote to " the author of the tragedy of Louis XVI. ' *I do* " *not think you can again ſet foot on the territories of* " *France.*' " To me it is indifferent whether Barthélemy was ſpoken of by Le Maître, or whether he wrote theſe words or not; but if his nomination is a crime that deſerves deportation, why have only eleven of the 250 members of the Council of Elders been deported?

But I will deſtroy this accuſation by means ſtill more direct. Barthélemy, who had been during ſeven years ambaſſador from the Republic to Switzerland, was inveſted both with the external marks, and the real proofs of the confidence of the Directory. He had negotiated, concluded, and ſigned the treaties of peace contracted between the Republic and the Kings of Spain and of Pruſſia. As Ambaſſador, he was particularly pointed out to our choice by the Conſtitution; while the Executive, to whom belong both the nomination and diſmiſſal of the diplomatic functionaries, thus informed us he was worthy to be placed in the Directory, by giving him, during ſo long a period, the moſt public proofs of perfect confidence. Let

me

me aſk, then, whether among the whole maſs of French citizens there were many candidates who united ſuch deciſive claims to preference; and whether, provided this charge had the leaſt foundation, the pretended crime would not belong to the Directory itſelf, rather than the Legiſlative Body? Ought not all thoſe alſo to be accuſed that elected Carnot, who was deported equally with Barthélemy? In fact, however, this ſtrange accuſation cannot attach to either of theſe powers: it merely ſerves to ſhow the impoſſibility of ſuggeſting any real matter of accuſation.

This charge being diſpoſed of and deſtroyed, I do not find throughout the Report a ſingle word that can apply to me more particularly than to any other member of the Legiſlative Body. Were Bailleul himſelf in Guiana, and had to reply to the Report, he could neither hold a different language, nor defend himſelf by more concluſive reaſoning. The only difference between us is, that he read the Report to the Legiſlative Body, and I read it at Sinamary. But the diſtance and difference of climates cannot conſtitute either innocence or criminality. I am neither named, nor even pointed at, in the Report; and I cannot, without offending that body, ſuppoſe, that, had it been read to the

Council ſix months previous to the 18th Fructidor, they would, after hearing it, have ſent me to the deſerts of Guiana, where I am threatened with the ſame miſerable fate as half my companions in deportation have experienced.

It is impoſſible but the colleagues of the Repreſentative Bailleul, after having attentively heard him, muſt have ſaid, " Some of the deported " perſons, it is true, are named in the Report; " but the reſt are not even pointed at. The crimes " ſet forth are foreign to them, and yet capital " puniſhments have been inflicted on them all; " for thoſe unfortunate men are following each " other to the grave, and their ſurvivors do but " miſerably languiſh under the weight of their " accumulated ſufferings. They have been all " condemned in a maſs. Sometimes, indeed, re- " volutionary tribunals have heaped together " various accuſations, but they have always tried " the accuſed one by one, for crimes perſon- " ally imputed to them, and crimes detailed in " their ſentence. Never was it ſaid, Paul is " guilty of murder, let Paul, therefore, be con- " demned to death, and with him all thoſe who " have fallen into our hands. Humanity and " reaſon here go hand in hand with the laws in op- " poſing ſuch proceedings, and even require that

" thoſe

" thoſe who are not named ſhall be held to be " exempted from all condemnation."

It is well known that the Council reminded Bailleul himſelf of the language of equity and wiſdom, which he had ſpoken on the 24th Nivôſe; and I have a pleaſure in reciting them here: " The " conſtitution," ſaid he, " has laid down the forms " to be adopted in accuſations of the repreſentatives " of the people, and I demand that thoſe rules be " conformed to."

It would be difficult to conceive what reply Bailleul could make to this reaſoning. I ſhall copy his anſwer to it from a note annexed to his Report: " Note. From my not having ſtated particular " facts, perſonally, of each of the individuals " comprehended in the law of deportation, it " may, perhaps, be inferred, that thoſe, at leaſt, " who are not mentioned in the documents by " name, ought not to be conſidered as guilty. " But this would be a great miſtake. Suppoſe a " houſe to be broke open and robbed, and that " the thieves go off together, ſome of them only " carrying away the ſtolen goods, in this caſe can " it be ſaid the reſt are innocent, becauſe there is " no other proof but that they entered and left the " houſe together, and that they continued in com-

" pany,

" pany, and did not ſeparate ? The crime conſiſts " in the violation of the houſe of a citizen, not in " the unknown ſhare each individual may have had " in the acts by which the crime was perpetrated. " In the preſent caſe, a vaſt conſpiracy has exiſted " to cauſe the ſuffrages of the people to fall on bad " citizens. It is evident that theſe bad citizens, in " the various functions entruſted to them, have " purſued the ſteps pointed out to them by the " agents of the conſpiracy, have borrowed their lan- " guage, have been preſent at their meetings, and " that the plot was on the point of breaking out. " It is evident, therefore, that they are implicated " in the conſpiracy, although we cannot ſtate of " each individual, that he did ſuch ſpecific acts, or " deſcribe the preciſe part he was to perform." See page 47.

Although I have faithfully extracted this note, I muſt obſerve, that it was not read to the Council, and is no part of the Report of which the printing was ordered. I ſhould even refrain from anſwering it, were I not determined to confute every objection, how futile ſoever it may be, in order to prove, that not even any thing the leaſt ſpecious in appearance can be laid to my charge.

This taſk, indeed, is extremely eaſy; for even ſuppoſing the words juſt quoted had been read at the tribune previous to my condemnation, their plain and obvious ſenſe is, that a band of robbers had been ſurpriſed plundering a houſe, and that I was one of the number. The Council, therefore, would immediately have aſked where and what I had ſtolen? whether the banker's ſtrong box, the national treaſure, or ſome depoſit or magazine of goods, either public or private? To this Bailleul would have replied, They have conſpired; I have ſpoken of them as robbers merely by way of metaphor. They have conſpired then, would the judges have ſaid, and you ſay they did not ſeparate; interrogate me, I ſhould have ſaid, "On the 18th "Fructidor I was arreſted at the houſe of the pre- "ſident, where ſeven of us were aſſembled, namely, "Laffond the Preſident, Piedac Dericot, Tron- "çon, Launois, Goupil Preſeln, Maillard, and "myſelf. When the Gendarmerie came, the "doors were freely opened, and no one attempted "to fly; we were conducted without the leaſt "reſiſtance to the houſe of the Miniſter Sottin; "we pointed out to him that there was a miſtake, "and that the order of arreſtation named a dif- "ferent houſe; he acknowledged it, ſaid it was of

"no

" no conſequence, and added theſe truly memora-
" ble words: ' That after what he had taken upon
" himſelf, the committing himſelf a little more
" or a little leſs was of little importance;' and
" upon this explanation we were all ſent to the
" Temple." Yet of all the ſeven, only Laffond, Tronçon, and I, were ſent to Guiana; the reſt were ſet at liberty the next day, and reſtored to their legiſlative functions. This proves that it is not to the Preſident's houſe that Bailleul refers, and that we were not conſpiring there; and thus his conſpiracy alſo is a mere *metaphor*.

By this ſimple and eaſy analyſis, the Council would have cleared up a ſubject purpoſely clothed in obſcurity; they would not have ſuffered that the ſtatement and the terms of it ſhould be changed; that a mere unſubſtantial phantom, that ſhrinks and vaniſhes from examination, ſhould be produced as a concluſive witneſs; or that, in order to execute judgment upon us, and condemn us to puniſhments of which death is too certainly the conſequence, recourſe ſhould be had to tropes and figures for want of more ſolid and deciſive proofs.

Citizen Bailleul accuſes us of cauſing certain counter-revolutionary decrees to paſs; ſuch vague and general imputations afford not even matter for

diſcuſſion or reply; one ſingle obſervation inſtantly deſtroys this accuſation. At the ſittings of the Council of Elders, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred members uſually aſſembled, whereas the proſcribed members are only eleven! Beſides, theſe decrees ought to have been ſpecified, as alſo the individuals who ſupported or oppoſed them. Bailleul ſpecifies the decree of "*The organization* "*of the Gendarmerie, ſo drawn up that no officer of* "*the revolution can enter it.*" Yet this very decree, when brought into the Council of Elders, was diſcuſſed and rejected. If it be ſaid this rejection does not diſprove the intention of the deported members to paſs it, I reply, that only one of the deported members ſpoke, and that member was myſelf; I ſpoke to oppoſe it, and it is recorded upon the journals of the Council, that my ſpeech was ordered to be printed; conſequently it may be found among the archives, immediately after my objections had been heard, that the law was rejected. Where then is this *conſpiracy*, this uniform *language*, *theſe meetings*, *and this agreement* between us? How is it that this reſolution is a crime common both to him who propoſed it to the Council of Five Hundred, and to him who efficaciouſly oppoſed it in the Council of Elders, and that theſe

perſons

perſons ſhould be together ſent into baniſhment to Guiana? I am far, however, from ſuppoſing this reſolution in the Council of Five Hundred can be converted into a crime: but even according to thoſe who conſider it as criminal, the orator who oppoſed it, and the Council that, immediately upon that oppoſition, rejected it, deſerve praiſe and commendation.

Thus, anxiouſly employed in this careful, nay ſevere ſearch, for all that can be imputed to me, I find my name in a liſt of royal miniſters, which Charles La Vilheurnois thought proper to deliver in. This mention of me is not, however, taken up by the Repreſentative Bailleul either in conſequence of that general maxim, that we are not to be accuſed for the act of another, or becauſe this could not be laid to my charge as a crime, while ſeven other citizens, who are likewiſe in the liſt, have not ſuffered the leaſt reproach on that account. Two days ago I was preſent at the death of Charles La Vilheurnois, whoſe hut is near my own; but I declare, as he alſo declared himſelf, that at the time of his trial we did not even know each other.

Thus do thoſe clouds vaniſh on which it has been attempted to found a poſthumous accuſation, for ſuch is the name it truly deſerves, ſince half the

deported have already followed each other to the grave at Sinamary, after dragging on a wretched and miserable life. But this recital of all our sufferings would but afflict our friends, and fill our enemies with joy: I will spare the one that pain, I will deprive the other of that pleasure.

I will add, however, a statement that may show the chances of mortality at Guiana. To me, indeed, this sad office peculiarly belongs, since I am one of the extremes of the dreadful proportion. Of all things that excite the fears and terrors of mankind, death is the most dreaded; the laws have made it the last and greatest in the list of punishments, and hatred and vengeance cease when their victims are in the grave. For us, deportation is in fact condemnation, without trial, either to a sure and speedy death, or to a lingering and no less certain destruction. Of ten members of the Legislative Body who have been deported to Guiana, four have escaped this almost unavoidable doom by flight: they consigned themselves to the ocean in a fragile bark, and I am ignorant of their fate; of the six that remain, three have died in seven months, one of them being the oldest of our number, another of a middle age, and the third the youngest of us all: of their three survivors, two

have

have been dangerouſly ill, and are ſcarcely able to paſs the perilous gulf of convaleſcence. Such are our bills of mortality at Guiana, while at Paris, in the ſame ſpace of time, only one member has died out of the ſeven hundred and fifty who compoſe the Legiſlative Body. Thus the chances of death at Paris and Guiana are as one to three hundred and ſeventy-five, or, to adopt the language of an aſſurance-office, the premium for inſuring the life of a perſon deported without trial would be three hundred and ſeventy-five per cent. for every one per cent. it would have coſt at Paris for an equal ſpace of time.

And as if every thing concurred to prove the fatal accuracy of this calculation, of the two other deported perſons, not members of the Legiſlative Body, one is likewiſe dead, namely, Charles La Vilheurnois. Theſe ravages exceed the moſt deadly peſt, and are at leaſt equal to the puniſhment of cutting off the ears, ſlitting the noſe, and ſhaving the head, inflicted by the Ruſſian laws on certain criminals, and which ſome hireling writers have compared with the *pleaſures* of our ſituation at Guiana.

" Blood has not been ſhed," you ſay (page 46); and is every thing lawful but the effuſion of blood?

blood? Do not men die without the effuſion of blood? Ah! had you heard my unfortunate companions exclaim during their long and cruel ſufferings, "Would to God, that on the 18th Fructidor my life had been taken from me!"

Let me aſk whether the people of France in their conſcience approve that we ſhould be thus treated without form of trial? Do they approve that men, who are preſumed innocent until ſentence of condemnation, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as a criminal tried and condemned for a capital crime; that guilt and innocence ſhould be thus confounded in the opinion of the careleſs and inattentive; that by this confuſion of ideas and ſubverſion of order, the influence of example and all our notions of juſtice ſhould be deſtroyed, and that the dread of like unauthorized puniſhment ſhould henceforward hang over the heads of the moſt irreproachable citizens, as though they were the moſt criminal?

Some of us have, as it were miraculouſly, ſurvived the deſtructive effects of the climate, and the depreſſion of our wretched fate. Thus we afford the national juſtice of our country an opportunity to repair this violation of law and juſtice, of which error has rendered us the victims: and

juſtice

juſtice cannot be granted to us, without in ſome meaſure granting it to the memory of thoſe who have already periſhed. No one has an intereſt in preventing me from being brought to trial. All our friends, and every honeſt man, will ſupport your demand. Even my enemies will ſupport it, my dear Eliza, if they would wiſh to paſs for honeſt men. I am aware, however, that one difficulty may occur. "How can we try a man," they may ſay, "againſt whom there is no accuſation? "and could one be found, and were the accuſed "acquitted, it will be more evident than ever, "that he has been unjuſtly puniſhed." This objection, it is true, is important; but you may reply to it as follows: "When I demand to be "tried, a refuſal would make my innocence the "more ſtriking; and my defence would draw new "ſtrength from the ſilence and dereliction of my "denouncers. If, on the contrary, I am brought "to trial, the conſequence, which is ſtill uncer-"tain, may be fatal. In the one caſe nothing can "palliate their injuſtice, in the other there is "ſome chance of their being ſucceſsful. At the "time of the Report of the 26th Ventôſe, there "exiſted not the ſhadow of a crime, but ſince "that period proofs and indications might be

 "found.

" found. They may be collected until the mo-
" ment of trial. Who knows but the in-
" dictment may bring ſome offence of ſome
" ſpecies or other home to me?" 'Tis thus they defend themſelves from the reproach of having refuſed me that which cannot be refuſed to any one. Innocent or guilty, they will get rid of an importunate reaſoner, who inceſſantly repeats to them, " I am in your power, and yet you dare
" not try me; becauſe you know I am innocent,
" and it is more convenient for you to wait till
" death ſhall cloſe my lips." Laſtly, ſhould I be acquitted, it will be honourable for them to ſay, " We were his enemies, but were not willing to
" deprive him of the right of legally proving his in-
" nocence."

If ſome of thoſe you may addreſs, forgetting that the duty of doing juſtice to every one is tranſmitted from one magiſtrate to another, ſhould object that our misfortunes are not their act, that it is not their buſineſs to repair the injuries other men may have committed, and that it is not for them to acquit me; tell them I do not demand it of them: I only demand the exerciſe of a right that belongs to all men, and which it is equally important

portant to them and to me to maintain inviolable—I mean the right of trial.

The greateſt misfortune that can happen to a judge is to condemn an innocent man. For ſuch an error, remorſe would embitter his whole life. But this misfortune in thoſe who have condemned me will be repaired, and their conſciences appeaſed, ſhould I but be tried, be the iſſue what it may.

We have ſeen victorious factions in the moment of triumph ſtrike at every one that was within their reach, and the heat of the conflict ſeemed to excuſe their exceſſes. But I can never imagine an eſtabliſhed, conſolidated, and regular government will coldly, and in violation of the laws, prolong the ſufferings of an innocent citizen, and unneceſſarilly expoſe him to almoſt certain death.

The power of the Legiſlature is unlimited in whatever does not infringe the ſocial compact, that is, the conſtitution; which alone is paramount to it. But the conſtitution, neither the Legiſlature nor the whole Nation can infringe. If the people are deſirous to change it, they muſt declare their will, and till then this ſupreme law is inviolable. Even when it undergoes a regular change, it can-

not have a retroſpective power over paſt tranſactions and events.

What then ſhall we ſay of that ſingular and ſtriking ſentence which concludes Bailleul's Report: "Let us baniſh thoſe abſurd theories of pretended "principles, and thoſe ſtupid appeals to the con- "ſtitution?" Behold how we muſt proceed, if we ceaſed for a moment to make juſtice our rule of conduct. Having firſt violated the laws, we muſt then, in our own defence, declare thoſe to be ſtupid, who appeal to them; and it naturally follows, that thoſe are wiſe and enlightened men, who violate them: and thus would men be neceſſarily driven into anarchy and confuſion. I doubt not, however, but this doctrine muſt be promulgated during a baniſhment that is accompanied with a refuſal of trial. How indeed can ſuch meaſures be reconciled with the poſitive proviſions of the law? How can they appeal to them, ſo long as *we* are the living inſtances of their violation? and even our death is ſo far from ſoothing our enemies, that it only ſhows in a more ſtriking manner, that the laws are totally impotent and deſtitute of force. What! and is the ſolemn and periodical reading of the Conſtitution, the invocation for its preſervation, but the amuſement of fools?

fools? What then muſt be the language of the enemies of the Conſtitution? Or would it be difficult to draw up an accuſation againſt me, if ſuch an aſſertion could be found in my writings?

But let us, on the contrary, remember the oath we have taken never to violate this fundamental law, and to defend it at the peril of our lives. The people of France have not yet loſt their ancient and habitual veneration for oaths. They contemn thoſe who violate them; they eſteem thoſe who inviolably adhere to them. In the ſimplicity of their hearts and underſtandings, they judge that a conſtitution declared inviolable, and confirmed by an oath, cannot be infringed without the crime of perjury, and have no idea that its obſervance can be mere ſtupidity. Between theſe two manners of thinking, I neceſſarily chooſe that of the people.

One more reflection, and I have done. In a ſtate of nature, a juſt conviction of the violation of the contract renders it null and void; and this takes place between two nations, becauſe there is no ſuperior magiſtrate to guarantee and enforce the performance of the treaty. But within the limits of a ſtate, no contract can be more ſacred or more ſolemn than thoſe by which a nation binds itſelf towards

towards itſelf and its own magiſtrates. Theſe compacts are inviolable, becauſe there is an adequate power to enforce the obedience of the refractory. This caſe has been provided for by the Conſtitution.

I am willing, however, to allow all that ought to be allowed to extraordinary circumſtances, to unforeſeen events, or even to force. I will ſuppoſe the danger of the Directory ſo great, that they imagined themſelves in a ſtate of nature with regard to the real or reputed faction, and therefore authorized, for their own preſervation, to violate the ſocial compact. If ſo, either force has reſtored the equilibrium, or that equilibrium is not yet reſtored. If the latter be the fact, we are ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy; and the friends of order being ſurrounded with diſcord, muſt ſubmit to bear the yoke of factions that will ſucceſſively triumph in their turn. But this is not the real ſtate of things. The body politic is organized, in full activity, and enjoys the perfect vigour of exiſtence. But it is evident this body can only be preſerved by juſtice; and therefore it is the duty of the magiſtrates to deliver me without delay to the tribunals, and thus to repair the injury the Conſtitution has received. If I am innocent, my puniſhment ought to ceaſe;

it guilty, yet that punishment is a real oppreſſion until it ſhall be pronounced and ſanctioned by my judges. An omnipotent government ought, if they wiſh to maintain a character of juſtice, immediately to bring me to trial. This would even be the duty of a weak and falling government: for it could only recover its ſtrength by clinging to the ſtatue of Juſtice. The path of thoſe who are at the head of affairs in a powerful but tottering empire, ſinking beneath the moſt violent ſhocks, is pointed out by reaſon. The firſt ſtep to recover from the criſis of deſtruction leads to the temple of Juſtice. If there are citizens accuſed of any crime, deliver them to the tribunals. This vigorous meaſure will reanimate the hope of all good citizens, keep the factious under due reſtraint, conſolidate the national credit, pleaſe every honeſt man, and ſatisfy the whole people of France; while puniſhments without trial do but fill the citizens with uſeleſs terror, and proclaim to all the world the weakneſs of an expiring government.

I cannot better confirm the foregoing reflections than by quoting the ſtriking language of the Tribunal of Appeal, in a ſentence pronounced by them on the 25th Pluviôſe laſt; and I demand that the ſame words be applied to my own caſe. "The

"nobleſt

" nobleſt uſe," ſay they, " which a government " can make of the powers entruſted to it by the " people, is to repreſs the public functionaries who " ſhall violate the forms eſtabliſhed for the pre- " ſervation of liberty."

I am fond alſo of recalling to mind that important maxim with which Bailleul's Report concludes: " To have a right to be ſevere, we muſt " firſt be juſt."

Endeavour, my dear Eliza, endeavour to have me extricated by a trial from this dreadful ſolitude, in which the death of my companions has left me, and thus put an end to the torments I have endured for theſe twelve months paſt. Fear not that your zeal can be fatal to me, or that my boldneſs ſhould be puniſhed by an increaſe of rigour. The fortitude and conſtancy of an oppreſſed and innocent man, who only demands to be tried with ſeverity, will ſoon attract the attention and excite the intereſt of the public. To ſhield me from an imaginary and at leaſt a doubtful evil, your affection would expoſe me to certain death; and you yourſelf would fall a victim to your ſorrows. Oh, endeavour to enable me, once more before I die, to behold my dear old mother of fourſcore, and you and our child, and our native country.

(Signed) BARBE-MARBOIS.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Inſtructions given by the Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana to Citizen Boucher, Commiſſary of War, relative to the Perſons deported, in conformity to the Law of the 19th Fructidor, in the Year V.

Art. I.

CITIZEN Boucher, Commiſſary of War, who is to accompany the deported perſons to Sinamary, in execution of the law of the 19th Fructidor, ſhall, on the 6th of this month, go on board of the ſhip appointed to convey them.

II. At the time of their diſembarkation at Sinamary, he ſhall accompany them to the place prepared for their reception, and proceed, together with the Commandant of that ſtation, and the Engineer Prévoſt, to ſee them properly diſpoſed of.

III. He ſhall take care that the effects ſent for their uſe to the keeper of the ſtores, be equally diſtributed among them, and take a receipt for the ſame.

IV. He ſhall attend at the diſtribution which Citizen Prévoſt is authorized to make to the deported, of an acre

of land each, as an uſufruct out of the unoccupied lands neareſt to their reſidence *.

V. Should any of the deported expreſs a deſire to be ſituated near each other in the ſettlements prepared for them, he ſhall accede to their requeſt.

VI. Should one or more of the deported wiſh to hire, at their own expenſe, houſes or apartments for their greater accommodation, he ſhall conſent thereto, provided theſe apartments be within the town of Sinamary, and not elſewhere.

VII. Citizen Boucher ſhall declare to all the deported together, that their reſidence at Sinamary, although conformable to the intentions of the government, is, however, merely proviſionary †; that during the whole of their ſtay they muſt never paſs the ſea to the northward; the left bank of the Kourou to the eaſtward; and two days and a half's journey to the ſouthward; or to the right bank of the Iracombo to the weſtward; but they may go at their own expenſe as far as its mouth, only to communicate with the French town, and the Indian village bearing the ſame name with that river.

That their excurſions muſt always be ſo regulated, that they may every Quintidi and Decadi be at their reſpective reſidences from ten to eleven in the forenoon, to receive the viſit of the Commandant of the Poſt, who is to tranſmit an account of their proceedings ‡.

* This conceſſion was abſolutely nugatory and without effect, as the reſidence of the deported at Sinamary was but proviſionary, and they were not allowed to have any labourers.

† Thus was their future condition left in total uncertainty, it being only declared that it depended ſolely on the arbitrary will of the Agent.

‡ This reſtriction rendered the permiſſion to traverſe the extent of country aſſigned, and which has been ſo much boaſted in France, as if they enjoyed perfect liberty, totally null and uſeleſs.

That

That for their own ſecurity they ſhould beware not to go to any diſtance without guides.

That the ſtore-keeper of the ſtation ſhall furniſh each of them with ſailors' allowance till further orders.

That the Commiſſary ſhall continue to furniſh them with the requiſite clothing upon demand.

That in caſe of ſickneſs they ſhall be attended by the ſurgeon of the ſtation, either at the military hoſpital or at their own homes, but in the latter caſe at their own particular expenſe.

That no inſtruments of huſbandry, fiſhing-tackle, or hunting accoutrements, ſhall be ſupplied them by the Republic till they are put in poſſeſſion of the ground ultimately deſigned for their uſe.

That henceforward, to procure theſe articles, as well as all others they may deſire, whether for uſe or pleaſure, they muſt apply directly to the Commiſſary.

That as to their correſpondence both with the capital of the colony and abroad, they may ſend their letters under ſeal to the Commandant of the Poſt, under whatever addreſſes and covers they may think proper, and the ſame ſhall be forwarded.

VIII. Citizen Boucher is authorized to read to the deported, articles IV. V. VI. VII. and VIII. of theſe preſents, and even to furniſh copies thereof to thoſe who ſhall deſire them.

IX. Before quitting Sinamary he ſhall procure ſufficient documents of the ſteps he ſhall have taken in virtue of theſe inſtructions.

If he ſhould foreſee that he will be obliged to continue in that diſtrict two whole days after his diſembarkation, he ſhall the next day inform the Commandant of the ſame, that the ſchooner may be forthwith ſent back, together with the perſons it is to convey; in that caſe Citizen

Boucher ſhall return to Cayenne by land, which he ſhall perform with the leaſt delay poſſible.

At Cayenne, the 4th Frimaire, in the year VI. of the Republic.

(Signed) JEANNET.

No. II.

Arrêté of the Special Agent of the Executive Directory.

Being informed by the diſpatches of the Miniſter of Marine and of the Colonies, under date of 11th Pluviôſe, and 25th Ventôſe laſt, that it is the intention of the Directory, that the deported may form agricultural and commercial eſtabliſhments in all parts of Guiana, except the capital of the colony and the iſland of Cayenne, orders as follows:

Art. I. Every deported perſon who ſhall deſire to form an agricultural or commercial eſtabliſhment in any part of the colony not excepted by the Executive Directory, ſhall be required to preſent a demand to that effect to the Departmental Adminiſtration, through the medium of the Commandant in Chief, accompanied with a certificate from a land or houſeholder, viewed by the Municipality of the diſtrict where the ſaid land or houſeholder reſides, proving that the demandant is in treaty for the purchaſe or hire of a plantation or houſe, and that he has ſufficient means to cultivate the ſaid plantation, or to carry on trade.

II. The Departmental Adminiſtration ſhall aſcertain the fact ſet forth in the certificate which accompanies the demand, which demand they ſhall forthwith forward, together with their opinion and the grounds thereof, to the Agent of the Executive Directory, that he may thereupon proceed to determine upon the whole, in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem fit.

The

The Departmental Adminiſtration and the Commandant in Chief are charged, each in their reſpective departments, to put in force this preſent arrêté, which ſhall be printed and poſted up.

Ordered at the national reſidence of the Agent of the Executive Directory at Cayenne, this 30th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Executive Directory,
(Signed) EDME MAUDUIT,
Secretary-general to the Agent.

Note—It is evident that this arrêté was a mere voluntary conceſſion, in the nature of an indulgence, ſince it only concerned thoſe of the deported, who might deſire to form eſtabliſhments.

No. III.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana, having examined the Report of the Commiſſary, under date of the 8th of this month, from which it appears, the expenſes occaſioned by the deported, from the 22d Brumaire to the 30th Floréal laſt, amount to 22,022 fr. 5 cents, orders as follows:—

Art. I. From this time forth till the 22d Brumaire of the year VII. nothing ſhall be furniſhed to the deported now at Sinamary, but their lodging; a ſailor's allowance per day, and their attendance at the military hoſpital and maritime ports, or in caſe of ſickneſs.

II.

II. There ſhall however be held, at the diſpoſition of the five deported perſons, who have received leſs than 600 franks in ſtores of the Republic, a ſum of 821 franks 15 cents, which ſhall be divided among them in the proportion of what they have already received.

III. The regulations of Art. I. are extended to Billaud.

IV. All former regulations contrary hereto are revoked.

The Chief of Adminiſtration acting in the capacity of Commiſſary, is charged with the execution of the preſent Arrêté.

Ordered at the national reſidence of the Agent of the Executive Directory, this 10th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Directory,

(Signed) EDME MAUDUIT,
Secretary-general to the Agent.

No. IV.

Extract of a Letter to the Commiſſary, from the Agent of the Executive Directory, 9th Fructidor, in the year VII.

You will underſtand with the Commandant in Chief, ſo as to notify to the aforeſaid individuals (the deported at Sinamary), that if, previous to the 26th of this month, they do not ſhow that they are likely to ſettle themſelves, on their own account, in Guiana, they ſhall then be conducted to Conanama by the armed force, and aſſimilated with the deported who are reſident there; and the ſame ſhall be executed accordingly.

In conſequence of this regulation it ſhould ſeem, that every

every expenſe, on account of the deported at Sinamary, ought to ceaſe on the 1ſt Vendémiaire next.

(Signed) JEANNET DADIN.

A true Copy.
(Signed) Commandant in Chief,
DESVIEUX.
The Chief of Adminiſtration of the Marine,
ROUTTAGEN.

Note—The Commiſſary, in his Letter to the Store-keeper, added, that in conſequence of this meaſure, the Commandant ſhould remove his quarters back again to the old Preſbytery, and all extra rent cauſed by the reſidence of the deported at Sinamary, would alſo ceaſe on the 1ſt Vendémiaire.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Commandant had then reſided above two months at the old Preſbytery.

By theſe contradictions, and more particularly by the harſh ſtyle of this laſt letter, it may be perceived to how arbitrary a power the deported are ſubject.

The number of deaths is accurately compared with the Extracts and Statements ſent to the Miniſter of Marine.

THE END.

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COAST OF SCOTLAND,

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AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SITUATION OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS AT THE TIME OF HIS ESCAPE.

———*Quæque ipsæ miserrima vidi,*
Et quorum pars magna fui.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1800.


BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c. &c.

NOTHING appears less interesting in the great History of the Revolution, than the episode of individual misfortunes: for so innumerable are the persons it has ruined, and the affecting tales they might relate, that I confess, I should not have taken up the pen to occupy the attention of the world, had I no other facts to declare than my personal misfortunes; although these have been no less numerous than extraordinary. But I have shared them with the most honourable victims, and they carry with them the memory of those

who will for ever be dear to every honest and feeling heart; they are connected with great events, and pourtray the cruelty of those who have usurped the sovereign power; they excite indignation against the vile agents of tyranny; they point out the danger arising from a contempt of the laws, and generate abhorrence for arbitrary measures. In these various points of view, this Narrative may be read with some degree of interest.

But a more important consideration has determined me to this publication. I know not whether I am deceiving myself, but when I reflect on the great calamities to which I have been either a witness or a victim, I imagine that I perceive a progressive diminution in the atrocities of which they have been composed, if not in the phrenzy that has given them birth. Whether the public delirium was greater and stronger at the commencement, or whether the authors of our miseries were afraid again to act the scenes that had already caused so much disgust, 'tis certain the first were the most ferocious, and that though their rage by no means abated, it has still manifested itself in less dreadful consequences. Thus

the massacres of the prisons were exchanged for the systematical assassinations of the revolutionary tribunals, then for the *fusillades* of the military commissions, and these last for deportation. This is certainly a cruel amelioration. But if the hope of every honest man is thus disappointed; if our wretched fate reserves us but for a new revolutionary crisis, humanity at least enjoins us to make public the nature of deportation to Guyana, and to shew that if blood do not actually flow at the moment these deportations are ordered, the unfortunate victims who suffer that sentence, are in fact but the more wretched.

"*No blood has flowed*" was the common cry, in speaking of the 18th Fructidor.—"*Not a spot of blood, not a single act of violence or aisorder has disgraced that day.*"—"*Henceforward, deportation ought to be the grand medium of safety for the commonwealth. This measure is dictated by humanity**." Remember, ye coldly barbarous men! who join derision to the refinement of assassination, that your colleague Carrier might

* See various addresses, proclamations, reports, and speeches relative to the 18th Fructidor in the *Moniteur*.

have said, like you, that blood has not flowed, since the blood of the drowned is as little shed as that of the deported. But if your horrid humanity dreads only the effusion of blood, accompany me in the details I am about to offer, and your compassionate hearts will enjoy a spectacle worthy of all their boasted clemency*. I shall not speak of your colleagues Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Laffond-Ladébat, Barthélemy, &c. &c. who were shut up in iron cages, and dragged from dungeon to dungeon, from Paris to Rochefort. These circumstances are too well known to require recapitulation. But come and behold Gibert-Desmolières and myself, squeezed and crowded with 191 other persons between the decks of a frigate, breathing or inhaling none but poisoned air, a prey to that loathsome disease from which men who are crowded together on board a-ship can never defend themselves, fed on the grossest and most unwholesome aliments, and (which is horribly repugnant to the mind,) compelled to share these

* Never was clemency so much talked of as at this epocha. *Moniteur.*

with the vilest refuse of society, with men stigmatized by the hand of justice, who were most infamously associated with us. Come and behold the wretched victims of deportation dragging on a languishing existence, and painfully struggling with death between the tropics, in the most unwholesome of climates, and in one of the most unwholesome situations that climate contains. And if this picture be still unsatisfactory, if something more be still requisite to content you, come, and behold the deserts of Conanama, of Sinamary, and of the whole of Guyana; descend into the innumerable graves you have dug, and contemplate the dead bodies of the victims you have there accumulated.—Methinks I see you shudder!—But console yourselves—for "no blood has flowed"—your victims have perished as you wished, by slow degrees, with pain and misery, and sinking beneath all the pangs of death. Their extinction too was without noise; it gave you no importunate alarm, nor disturbed for a moment your criminal enjoyments; nor has it produced any dangerous emotion in the public, by whom it has been almost unknown.

On this subject two works have already appeared *; the following will contain a different class of details. Although included in the same proscription with those who published these works, I was at no time with them, and have experienced a career of still greater misfortunes. I shall employ neither fiction nor exaggeration, and every thing shall be related with the most scrupulous accuracy. I shall have the important advantage of being frequently enabled to confirm my history by authentic documents, which I hope I shall be excused for copying. I am not writing a romance, but unfortunately a history of facts that are but too certain. It is therefore important not to omit any thing that may attest its authenticity, and although these documents may render the narrative somewhat tedious, they command a degree of confidence which no train of arguments could supply.

Far be it from me to be actuated by a spirit of revenge: I sincerely pardon my enemies the

" * Ramel's Narrative of the Deportation," &c.;—and " Secret Anecdotes of the Revolution of the 18th " Fructidor."

evils they have caused me, and should feel but too happy, could they but forgive *me* the injuries they have inflicted. I shall therefore carefully abstain from speaking of those, of which I might more particularly complain. Far be it from me to recal to memory those miserable scenes, with a criminal intention of exasperating the public mind, and keeping up a dangerous fermentation! On the contrary, I hope the government may succeed in their intention of allaying it, and of again attaching all Frenchmen, whatsoever may have been their opinions, to the maintenance of that public order and tranquillity, of which we stand so much in need.

At my return from deportation, I read in a report, made in the Council of Five Hundred, relative to the *conspiracy* of the 18th Fructidor in the year 5, that my name is "connected with all the crimes of the South." This serious accusation indeed is not accompanied with any detail, nor supported by any proof; because the reporter sets out with a principle, that as *we have no occasion to prove the existence of light*, so there is no need to prove the defamation in which he indulges against the proscribed. I may also add,

that it again occurs in a libel, where it is an honour to be calumniated. Yet this libel has had the greatest publicity, since, if we may believe a recent pamphlet*, 200,000 copies of the report were printed. This accusation therefore may have left some doubts in the minds of those to whom I am not known. Those who judge superficially may conclude, that it is perhaps exaggerated, but that it probably has some foundation in truth; since it would not be said, at the national tribune, of a man entirely free from reproach, "that his name is connected with all the crimes of the South." In short, this accusation ought to be considered as the principal ground on which my proscription was determined. All these motives prevent me from confounding it with my general feelings towards its author. Thus I am obliged to confute it, and shall for that purpose give a short sketch of my public life, which was no less stormy before, than it has

* See page 21 of *Le Départ du Temple*, a pamphlet in which Dutertre, who was appointed to convey Barthélemy, Pichegru, &c. endeavours to justify himself.

been

been since the 18th Fructidor. This portion of my work, which entirely regards the events of the revolution, and which I shall confine within as narrow limits as possible, will serve as an introduction to the history of my deportation.

I was much attached to the revolution at its commencement. I strongly felt the abuses of the old government, and perceiving that it was possible to destroy them, I was seriously desirous of seconding the efforts of those who were deputed for that purpose. Nor did I then suspect I was but favouring their selfish passions. My prejudices in their favour were so strong, that even the events most calculated to destroy them, could scarcely diminish their force.

My principles, which were well known, caused me to be appointed in June 1790 *procureur-général-syndic* of the department of Drôme, of which I at first performed the functions with pleasure, afterwards with disgust, but always with the most scrupulous delicacy. I felt that it was not my duty to judge of the laws, but to execute them, even when I thought them bad.

For a considerable time I enjoyed the public confidence, and obtained the honour of an almost

universal approbation. But when men of the most degraded character pretended to be the only patriots *, when they made patriotism consist in the most criminal excesses, it became my duty to restrain and repress them; and from that time I began to be suspected, and soon after to be hated. Thus after exercising my office without reproach during about two years and a half, the electoral assembly, who nominated the members of the Convention, caused a hint to be given me to retire, and appointed another person in my place.

Being now again restored to private life, I conducted myself with all the circumspection circumstances required. But though I escaped the revolutionary committees, I could not elude two brothers, who were all-powerful in the com-

* This splendid title, which implies the union of all the virtues, has long been usurped by men, in whose characters every vice is combined. Certainly nothing can be more respectable than a real patriot, nothing more contemptible, or more execrable than a false one. Yet how few have the former been! how numerous the latter! And with what innumerable evils have not these corrupt men, who have made a trade of patriotism, oppressed the nation. The true friends of their country dread to be mistaken for patriots.

mittee of public safety, and who had conspired for my destruction. I was arrested and led from dungeon to dungeon and from cart to cart, from Montelimart to Paris. From Valence I was constantly in chains, and my journey continued a month. When I arrived, which was not till the 2d of Thermidor, I was placed at the Conciergerie, where I saw four hundred victims pass by to the scaffold in a week.

I was expecting the same fate, when Robespierre and some of his accomplices received the just punishment of their crimes. This unexpected event restored me to life, and a month after I was liberated, and returned home, fully resolved never more to interfere in public affairs. Hence when a representative, who came on a mission to my department, proposed to nominate me mayor of my town, I refused his offer. He then appointed me *procureur-général-syndic* of the departmental administration, but this I also refused. I was then again called to Lyons, to be agent of the commune; but I again refused. And would to God I had afterwards persisted in my resolution! for it would have saved me from a long train of evils.

Robespierre being dead, it was both natural and prudent to attribute to him all the horrors that had hitherto been committed; and it was agreed to denominate that period of calamities the *régime* of Robespierre. The Convention now appeared to be animated by a new spirit, pretended to have been hitherto overpowered, repealed or modified some disastrous decrees, held out a protecting hand to the oppressed, and abandoned the subaltern tyrants to public indignation. An emulation to do what was right seemed to arise among its members, which was the more felt by the nation, as it was wholly unexpected; every generous mind was eager to second the direction, which the Convention seemed desirous of giving to the public opinion; and I confess I contributed to it with all the powers I possessed. But soon the Convention itself was alarmed at the change that had taken place, feared the indignation it had provoked against the agents of the revolutionary committees might at length reach its members, and felt, that as that body was neither loved nor esteemed, it would be too feeble to resist the infliction of national justice, should it separate from its natu-

ral allies. What then did the Convention do? They artfully took advantage of the crimes and excesses committed by those, who, being unable to obtain justice, executed it themselves on the assassins of their relations. These they exaggerated, and nothing now was heard, but of the Companies of Jesus and of the Sun, and of oppressed patriots. They granted the most open protection to those who had so powerfully seconded them in their crimes, and whom they had since abandoned. From this double change resulted almost a state of civil war. The Jacobins, protected by the Convention, insulted those who had seconded its attempts to repress them, and those who had shewn the greatest energy were the most violently persecuted. I had the perilous honour to be of that number; and one of my friends, then on a visit at my house, was killed at night on the promenade, where we were together, with three strokes of a sabre on his loins. It will be perceived these assassins had mistaken their victim. Several persons, who were suspected of having directly or indirectly participated in this crime, being arrested, the national guards of the neighbourhood collected round the prison,

which attempts were made to force, in order to immolate the accused. I made the greatest possible efforts to oppose them, and succeeded.

The Convention now approached its end. It had recently given us a third constitution, and a hope prevailed of seeing these men, who had left behind them such painful remembrances, yield their places to those whom the public confidence should appoint their successors, when they passed the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, and were pleased to declare the people had accepted them. These decrees, however, and this declaration, were considered as the heaviest of calamities, and spread an universal consternation. It was therefore resolved not to adhere to them.

At this crisis I forgot my resolution to interfere no more in public affairs, and went to the hall of my section to oppose the storm. I was chosen president, and it was resolved "that the electors should chuse into the legislative body such persons as they should judge worthy of their confidence, without any restriction whatsoever." This resolution, which was the source of all the persecutions I afterwards experienced, was printed

and sent to all the electoral assemblies. That of my department honoured me with a mark of their approbation. I went to my post through orders of arrest issued by the committee of public safety, who could not forgive me the resolution I have just mentioned. I escaped three commissaries of the government who were appointed to execute it, and found at my arrival the famous law of the 3d Brumaire, which was in fact a last will and testament *ab irato* of the expiring Convention. This however did not prevent me from filling a seat in the Council of Five Hundred. It will be remembered, that, after a long discussion, in which the partizans of principle were left in a minority, this unconstitutional law was unconstitutionally applied to me. Thus was I the first victim, and the first instance of the violation of the social compact. I was suspended from my legislative functions until a general peace, as having signed a seditious resolution. I could not avoid submitting to superior force, but I remained at Paris, that I might not be accused or suspected of the excesses which still continued to be committed in the departments; I therefore quietly waited to be recalled.

Thus have I been excluded from my administrative functions, carried one hundred and thirty leagues in chains, thrown into the dungeons of the revolutionary tribunals, again made the subject of an order of arrest, and suspended from my legislative functions, without crime, accusation, or trial; and this because I constantly shewed the firmest attachment to the eternal principles of order and of justice, which ought to govern society. And for having sometimes, perhaps imprudently, (though always without excess,) manifested that inextinguishable antipathy which I feel for the men of blood and rapine, and for those political jugglers, who by means of their revolutionary jargon have pillaged and deluged France with blood during more than ten years. It was indeed my fate ever to be calumniated and proscribed, but never to obtain a trial; and this too I again experienced when I was deported to Guyana; but I confess I should not have expected to find, in a report which has been circulated with the utmost profusion, that *my name was connected with all the crimes of the South.* The more I reflect on this accusation, the less

have

have I been enabled to discover what could be, I will not say its cause, but its pretext.

To have my name connected with all the crimes of the South, it was necessary I should be present at the places where these crimes were committed; but, except the murder of my friend, I have never been present where these crimes took place. A week before I entered upon my administration at Valence, the commanding officer of artillery was there assassinated. A week after my departure, an officer of gendarmerie was hung there by a party of brigands; but, during my administration, nothing of that kind happened; and I have had more than one opportunity of congratulating myself on preventing similar crimes. When I returned to my home, I there peacefully pursued my own profession, and scarcely ever quitted the town in which I lived. I only went for a single day to Lyons on my return from the prisons of Paris; nor did I repeat my visit, till I went to take my seat in the legislative body: I have never been at Marseilles, at Tarascon, nor at any one place that has been disgraced by assassinations. How then could I have participated, I

will not say in *all* the crimes of the South, but in any one of them? I who fortunately have always been at a distance from these scenes, and was as great a stranger to them as to those crimes which continued to be committed during the time I was at Guyana. On the contrary, I solemnly declare that I never voted or contributed to the death of a single individual; and that no one has a right to demand of me his relations, his friends, or his fortune, nor even to reproach me with the slightest injustice. And I defy any one to contradict me in this assertion.

But lastly, for I must confess that however contemptible the source of this accusation may appear, however destitute of proofs, or unsupported by facts, it is to me so horrible, that I cannot help feeling affected by it,—Have I ever in the course of my life manifested any of those passions which lead to the commission of crimes, or to which those of the revolution are to be traced; namely, ambition, avarice, revenge, or political fanaticism? Have those chief sources of our calamities ever been the spring of my conduct, or can they serve as a pretext for calumny? This I shall now examine.

And first, as to *ambition.* I accepted, it is true, at the time the departments were formed, the place of *procureur-général,* because I then believed the public good was the object in view; an object in which I should do myself honour by concurring. But this place was more laborious than advantageous, and exposed those who would only perform their duty to persecution. I accepted the office of member of the legislative body, which followed the Convention, because I hoped thereby to contribute to heal the wounds it had inflicted. But in the meanwhile, I had refused every place that was offered me: while in the legislative body, I never paid my court either to the Executive Directory, or to the ministers. No, I never went to the Directory, nor even knew any of the Directors. I strongly supported the motion of Henry of Longuève, "that no member of the legislative body should accept a place, the nomination to which belonged to the executive power, within a year after the cessation of his legislative functions." A motion which did him honour; a motion highly salutary; and which would have considerably diminished the number of those re-

publicans who, though so haughty at the tribunes, fawned and cringed before the Executive Directory. Most assuredly, this would not have been the conduct of an ambitious man.

Secondly, as to *avarice*. I am not one of those who have endeavoured to raise themselves a patrimony by means of the revolution ; nor do I fear being reproached with having taken advantage of it to make my fortune. I may say, with too much truth, it has caused my ruin. It is now near five years since I was elected a member of the legislative body ; and from that time my museum, which was almost my only support, is annihilated. I have contracted debts for my sustenance at the various prisons, on the road, and at Guyana, where the government supplied me with nothing ; and also for the maintenance of my family. I have lost all my effects by a shipwreck, and spent considerable sums on account of my return home. In a word, I am now without fortune, or means of subsistence ; and scarcely any other property left me than my wife, my children, some sincere friends, and, what is better than all, a conscience without reproach ; to which, I believe, I may add the public esteem, which I feel I ever deserved.

Thirdly, *revenge*. After the murder of my friend, which arose from a mistake of the intended victim, I was one of those who most effectually contributed to repulse from the prisons, where the assassins were, the national guards who were desirous of destroying them. In this work I shall abstain from mentioning both those who caused me to be imprisoned in the Conciergerie, and those who inserted my name in the list of deportation; as well as many others, of whom I have much cause to complain. Yet I know them all well; and nothing would be less difficult than to accuse them without calumniation. But no—Revenge never has, nor ever shall be an inmate of my bosom. I confess, that an oath of hatred, be its object what it may, has ever been to me an horrid idea; and I greatly rejoice that I never was compelled to adopt it.

Fourthly, *political fanaticism*. I have passionately loved liberty, and hated despotism. Thus I have passed for a republicain under the old government, and for a royalist under the republic. In this I confess there is no great address, but there is constancy in principles and opinions, and in a just attachment to independence. I

wished to have known no other sovereign power than the law, and I felt that I was pursuing a delusive chimera. What then did I do? I submitted without baseness, and yet have not been the happier. I confess, I have always beheld, with a very painful feeling, those pretended patriots who became alternately the plunderers and assassins of their fellow citizens. I confess also, that I seconded, with my best efforts, both the Convention and representatives on missions, when they confined themselves to repressing these men, in lieu of having them tried and punished; by which great evils would have been avoided. But I have not to accuse myself with the least persecution, even towards these criminal individuals.

Thus then I have not only been no participator in any of the crimes of the South, but it is further very evident, that I did not participate in them even by intention. I confined myself to my ardent wishes, that justice might be rendered to those who had a right to claim it.

After a suspension of eighteen months, the second third of the Council arrived; after which, the first act of the legislative body was to recal me and four of my colleagues, who had also been

struck with a political paralysis by the law of the 3d Brumaire. I now renewed my functions with the more pleasure; I was about to form a part of a majority animated by a desire to destroy those revolutionary laws, which still weighed so cruelly on the nation; to found their legislation on the principles of justice; establish œconomy in the finances; force the Directory to make peace; and, in short, to compel them to govern according to the constitution. This was conforming to the will of our constituents, but directly opposite to that of the Directory. I have no occasion to observe, that I am speaking only of the triumvirate, since this only regards their victims.

Those brilliant, but short intervals in the struggles we maintained against the triumvirs and their associates in the legislative body, and the victories we gradually gained over those eternal oppressors of their country, will long be remembered. The ferocious cries of jacobinism were silenced, and the voice of principle alone was heard; the people began to breathe without fearing arbitrary measures; confidence was restored; and manufactures, commerce and agriculture

revived; the revolutionary wounds were closing; every honest heart was open to a ray of hope, and the dawn of peace seemed already to appear; that constant object of all our wishes and all our measures. The foreign powers demanded it; and, let what will be said to the contrary, demanded it sincerely. Lord Malmesbury was at Lisle for the purpose of negociation, and a brilliant campaign in Italy gave us a right to establish it on a solid and glorious foundation. Our soldiers already imagined themselves on the eve of enjoying, among their fellow citizens, the fruits of national gratitude, and that repose which they had obtained by the most laborious exertions and the most astonishing successes. Thus did happiness seem almost within their grasp, had not the triumvirate been alarmed at the prospect, and conspired to destroy the fair structure of felicity, of which we had laid the foundation; to plunge us again into the chaos of anarchy, and to perpetuate the horrors of war.

Nor did they conspire in vain. The perfidy with which they calumniated us even in the armies, the insolence with which they treated us in their messages and public discourses, the violent

measures

measures they at first determined to employ by causing Hoche's troops to pass the constitutional boundaries, the preparatory measures they took in filling all the offices, and particularly those of police, with men devoted to their interest, and whose want of principle, to say no more, was a pledge not only of their obedience, but of their participation in all their crimes; their appeal to the Jacobins of the departments, calling them to Paris, and their choice of a commander to execute our proscription, and lastly, how it was performed, are all sufficiently known.

If our proscribers are to be believed, we, and we alone formed an obstacle to the general felicity. Had it not been for us, the republic would have been firmly established, tranquillity would have prevailed throughout its interior, peace would have been obtained, the taxes diminished, and the people of France rendered the happiest nation upon earth. All these advantages were to be derived from our removal; which nothing could prevent from producing such beneficial effects, as to characterize the 18th Fructidor for an immortal day, that would prove the salvation of the country.

Miserable imposters! who thus impudently play with the credulity of the nation. Yes, you saved the country at that deplorable epocha, as you have often times saved it, by precipitating it into an abyss of every calamity. But let us for a moment examine what you have done, let us a little more closely inspect the picture I have just been sketching, and that which the interior and exterior of France will soon offer; and let the public whom you have so long deceived, learn at last to know you. After having proscribed your colleagues, you hastened to drive away the English negociator who had come to ask you for peace, and gave him but eight and forty hours for his departure. You have rejected the plenipotentiaries of the United States, you have completed the ruin of our colonies, ravaged and pillaged Switzerland, oppressed the allied republics, fomented the new coalition, increased the number of our enemies, left our armies in a dreadfully destitute situation, and by your scandalous dilapidations prepared the way for the checks it has received, and the evacuation of Italy; and when men accustomed to perform prodigies of valour, sustained the sinking glo-

ry of our name in distant regions, you have entirely abandoned them. So much for the exterior. At home you have multiplied deportations, arbitrary arrests, military commissions, executions, and declarations of siege. You have annihilated the rights of the people by subjecting the choice of the electoral assemblies to your revision; you have extorted several sums under pretext of a descent in England, which you had no intention to effect; you have almost doubled the taxes, and have created new ones, whose name was totally unknown to the ancient government; you have become bankrupts, attempted to deport in mass a class of citizens, in banishing whom your sole intention was to seize the miserable ruins of their fortunes; you have decreed forced loans and laws relative to hostages, revived the Vendean war, and lastly, you have destroyed both the small portion of commerce which was beginning to arise, and the small remains of the marine, swallowed up all the fortunes of the people, sacrificed all the armies, and almost annihilated a generation.

Such are the dreadful consequences of the *immortal* 18th Fructidor. Nor is this a mere pic-

ture of the imagination. I am recalling notorious facts to your memory; facts authenticated in your respective accusations. Nor have you invalidated the certainty either of the one or of the other at any subsequent time, though you were desirous of ascribing them to one another. You accused the Directory, the Directory accused you; and you were all right: for little more or less you were all equally criminal *.

This struggle at length produced the 30th of Prairial, which was fortunately soon followed by the 18th of Brumaire, an epocha at which great truths were proclaimed: "The republic," said Bonaparte, at that time, "has been badly go-
"verned these two years. On the 18th Fruc-
"tidor you violated the constitution.—What is
"become of that country which I left so bril-
"liant?—I left you peace, I find war; I left you
"victories, I find reverses; I left you the vast

* It should be observed, that I am speaking but of these bodies in a mass, not confounding the character of particular individuals: and it is a proof of the accuracy of my observation, that part of the facts I have recapitulated are drawn from a speech of Lucien Bonaparte, to which these individuals were strangers.

" treasures of Italy, I find every where spoliatory " laws and misery. What has become of the " 100,000 Frenchmen who were the companions " of my glory?—THEY ARE DEAD *."

But to return to the 18th Fructidor, that first spring of all our misfortunes. Long had the triumvirs and their accomplices in the legislative body conspired against such representatives as were true to their trust, and studied the means to be rid of them. Some said we should be seized in the halls where we met, others that we should be arrested in our beds, but all that we should be instantly shot. Several of my colleagues no longer slept at home. As for myself, I did not take that precaution; but on the 17th of Fructidor, at midnight, one of my friends having come to inform me that the conspiracy was about to break out, and that I should be arrested that very night, I accepted the asylum he offered me at his house, where I found Rouchon and Madier. The next morning we learnt that the Directory had caused the halls of both the Councils to be surrounded by an armed force,

* See *Moniteur*, Nos. 49, 50, 51, of the present year.

several of the deputies who were assembled in the chamber of the Council of Elders to be arrested, and that nothing was seen in the streets and places adjacent to the Thuileries, but the most alarming military parade. We were repairing however to our Council, when we were assured that Siméon the president, and about 30 of our colleagues had been expelled with bayonets, and that the Council of Elders had been treated in like manner. We were desirous to rally around those whose principles accorded with our own, and learnt that they had assembled in considerable numbers at the house of one of their number in the Rue de Gaillon, where we joined them. Here we met none but the members of the Council of Five Hundred; the Elders were assembled in the neighbourhood. Each now related the information he had collected; the above facts were unanimously confirmed, and after hearing various opinions, it was determined to go to our hall at the accustomed hour. Our colleagues came to a similar determination.

We set off at noon to the number of about 80 deputies, and presented ourselves at the gate

of the court of the Manège. It was guarded by a piquet of chasseurs, who refused to let us pass, and being charged in the name of the law to open the way for us, the officer who commanded the piquet replied, he had received contrary orders from a superior officer whom he would call. This officer presently appeared, and the summons was renewed with energy. Pastoret said to him, " I render you responsible with your life " for the consequences of your resistance ;" but this slave of the Directory, without stopping to reply, ordered the piquet to mount their horses and disperse us with their sabres. The piquet now advanced upon us in a hand gallop. We arranged ourselves to let them pass, and presented ourselves anew. While the sentinel detained us, the piquet being recalled resumed their situation, and marched a second time upon us. They now came in a trot, and so lined the passage, that being repulsed with the breasts of the horses, who would have trod us under foot had we resisted any longer, we were compelled to retire. Vainly did we exclaim against this violence committed by armed men on the unarmed representatives of the people ; and equally in

vain did Jourdan of the Bouches du Rhône, opening his breast, say, " since you pay so little " respect to our character, complete your crime; " strike: for you will only deserve better of the " tyrants who employ you as the vile instru- " ments of their revenge." But the soldiers, equally insensible to this apostrophe as to our former remonstrances, would have trodden our worthy colleague under their horses' feet, had we not rescued him from this sally of his despair, and torn him away almost by force.

Many people had followed us to observe the result of the step we were taking; but they were repulsed together with ourselves, and murmured their discontent in a low voice. Others appeared at their doors and windows, and exhibited in their countenances the strongest marks of their dissatisfaction, anxiety, and indignation: But these were accompanied with a consternation that forbid any other remonstrance than a sigh or a groan. We also learnt, that our colleagues of the Council of Elders had presented themselves like us at the entrance of their hall, and had been repulsed nearly in the same manner.

Scarcely

Scarcely knowing what resolution to take, we went to the apartments of André of Lozère in the Rue Neuve-du-Luxembourg, where we assembled to the number of near 150. We immediately determined on an address to the people relative to the violence we had experienced, and several of us offered to carry it to the Directory. While this address was drawing up, we received information that a piquet of chasseurs was surrounding the house of Lafond Ladébat, president of the Council of Elders, which was but about twenty paces from us, and that he was arrested there, together with some members of his Council. I have since learned that the commissary of police at the head of the piquet, had made a mistake, and gone to Lafond instead of coming to André, where he would have made a more numerous capture. This error gave occasion to Lafond and his colleagues to represent to that minister, that by detaining them any longer he would commit himself. "Well," replied he, "in the situation in which I am, to commit myself a little more or a little less makes no great difference;" and he immediately sent them to the Temple. As to us, our first idea, on

hearing Lafond's house was surrounded by an armed force was to join him, and participate in the fate of our colleagues. We even began to put this intention in force, and set off to join them; but upon an observation that our generosity would not save them, and that it was a folly to deliver ourselves up to men capable of committing the greatest crimes, we abandoned our resolution.

After the removal of our colleagues of the Council of Elders, we no longer talked either of addresses or protestations, for what could hand-bills avail against bayonets, and what new information could we give our constituents? Who could be ignorant of the violence that tore us from the functions which the people had freely delegated to us, and which we had so conscientiously fulfilled? Who but must be filled with horror against our tyrants?

About four o'clock we separated, and adjourned till ten, when we were to meet at the same place. But the plan of a proscription beginning to get wind, every one took his own measures to avoid it, and when I returned in the evening to André, I found scarce ten of my colleagues. As there now no longer existed any possibility or means of

resistance, I took refuge in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the house of a worthy man, who was bold enough to give me an asylum.

Meanwhile let us enquire what the triumvirs had done to shake off the constitutional yoke which we imposed on them, and to rid themselves of us entirely. These great proficients in political tactics had caused the alarm gun, which was the signal for their accomplices, to be fired at three o'clock in the morning. They had caused several representatives to be arrested in the chamber of the inspector; taken possession of all the avenues and adjacent places; seized all the bridges and fortified them with cannon; shut the barriers that none of their victims might escape; taken measures to prevent our entering our halls, or to drive us from them; and prepared the Odeon and the Surgeon's School to receive the conspirators of the two Councils, by whom they intended to complete our sacrifice.

It was here that the triumvirs declared to them in a message our grand conspiracy. At the same time they proclaimed through Paris that *we intended to assassinate them*; AND THAT WE HAD ALREADY ATTACKED THE POSTS THAT

SURROUND THE DIRECTORY. In a word, they invited them to proscribe us. In affairs of state *, say they, extreme measures are only to be appreciated by circumstances. Every thing was previously concerted; the infamous instrument called the law of the 19th Fructidor had been prepared, and the proscription was soon pronounced. I have been assured that the number of the victims was at first intended to have been less considerable, but that the conspirators afterwards conceded to each other the representatives they respectively disliked. To displease them was a sufficient cause to be inserted in the fatal list, which at first was only to have comprized about a dozen members of the legislative body. Fifty-two were however inscribed on it, besides Carnot,

* Naudé, in his treatise *Sur les Coups d'Etat*, which was no doubt the catechism of our modern Machiavels, calls in like manner the massacre of St. Bartholomew a *coup d'état*. He even makes an apology for the operations of that day, which he considers as just, but incomplete. When we read in this work, that in affairs of state we may take extreme measures to rid us of our enemies, and even that we ought to dispatch them secretly without passing through all the formalities of regular justice if necessary, we seem to be reading the proclamations, reports and motions of the 18th Fructidor.

Barthélemy, and some others, and at length an almost equal number of journalists, whom like us they could not forgive, for the courage and enthusiasm with which they had combated the progress of tyranny. Hence the reporter who proposed the insertion of their names, adding folly to rage, was bold enough to say, *their existence is a reproach to nature, and compromises the human race.*

The triumvirs ordered, that those of the proscribed whom they had been able to seize should depart *in carts formed into cages of iron, which were closed with padlocks, and adapted rather for the conveyance of wild beasts than of men.* These are the words of the commandant of the escort Dutertre*, to whom they caused instructions to be given for his conduct on the road, in which the following expressions literally occur: "*General Dutertre will be so fully aware of the necessity of preventing all occasion of procuring or facilitating an escape, that in case of attack or insult from any individual,* HE MUST ACT MILITARILY ON THE CONDEMNED, *rather than suffer them to be rescued.*" What is meant by acting militarily

* See his Mémoire, pages 28, 30, 31, and 43.

on a citizen is well known, and it is also well known how easy it is to provoke an attack or an insult. What a providence then has watched over the preservation of these victims! Can it be conceived by what miracle they have survived their long and cruel route from Paris to Rochefort, when, after reading in innumerable parts of Dutertre's Mémoire that it was often in contemplation to sacrifice them, we come to these words: *Collin and Guillet* (his two adjutants) *were in the confidence of two of the Directors who were the authors of the events of the* 17*th and* 18*th Fructidor. I know not whether they had received any particular instructions, but the multitude whom we found on our passage were frequently provoked to commit excesses.*

While my unfortunate colleagues, who had thus miraculously escaped death on shore, were incurring perhaps still greater dangers on the sea, I continued in the retreat that had been provided for me, waiting, not for justice, (for I knew that was a stranger to the breasts of my proscribers,) but for some change which circumstances rendered probable. I knew that these elements of destruction did not agree among themselves, and

that the intriguers of the two Councils, perceiving too late, that by sacrificing us they placed themselves at the mercy of the Directory, complained aloud of the despotism of the Directors, and of their own nullity. But the time was not come; and yet as a longer stay in the neighbourhood of Paris might lead to a discovery, and implicate the worthy man who had afforded me an asylum, I returned after three months to concert with my friends the best measures to be taken in my present critical situation. I had already been assured that no obstacle would occur at the barriers, where people freely came in and out without being asked for their passport or *carte de sûreté*.

My friends were of opinion I ought to quit France, and employed themselves in preparations for my departure. Meanwhile I lodged with one of them, who is a merchant in the Rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière. I had not been there a week, when, at eight in the morning of the 14th Nivôse, he came into my chamber, and suddenly waking me, said, "You are discovered: they are come "to arrest you; there is an armed force in the "court; dress yourself quickly, and we will con- "sider of the means of saving you, if it be pos-

" sible." I dressed myself in the greatest haste, and having no time to put on my boots, wore some shoes which my friend had lent me for slippers, and followed him into a room, where he advised me to hide myself in a closet. " 'Tis impossible," said I, " that they should not examine this place, and I shall certainly be discovered. Let me out at the garden gate, while the soldiers are yet in the court." He adopted my advice, and we hastened to the garden, from which I instantly reached the street, happy that now no danger would await a friend, whose kindness might compromise him under so tyrannical a government.

This was sufficient for his security, but not enough for mine: for what was now to become of me, where could I take refuge, with my shoes down at the heel and so short that I could scarcely walk? The street indeed was solitary, and I was not much importuned by the notice of passengers. My first thought was to quit it, lest the runners, being informed of that avenue, should surprise me; and my next was to remove to that asylum where I had already passed three months. I immediately advanced towards the Boulevard, took a coach,

a coach, and felt a full conviction that I had eluded my persecutors; but it was not long before I was undeceived. On my arrival at the barrier, the soldier on duty came to the coach-door, and asked for my *carte de sûreté*. "I have left it at home," said I; "I pass here every day without being asked for it, and I therefore thought it useless to bring it; but if it be necessary, I will return and fetch it."—"That is impossible," returned he; "you must speak to the commander of the post, who will inform you what you must do." On speaking to him, he held the same language. "The Directory," said he, "has caused all the shops and warehouses to be surrounded this morning, in order to seize all the English goods; meanwhile they have given orders last night at the barriers to let no one go out without a *carte de sûreté* or a passport, and to conduct those who have them not to the guard-house: several persons have been taken there, and you must go there also; it is a mere matter of form." And immediately he ordered a young soldier to accompany me.

These words petrified me. I immediately recollected to have seen numbers of armed men

before the different shops in the Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Antoine, though I had paid no attention to them; and I now felt, though too late, my imprudence in refusing my friend's offer of concealing me in his closet, where I should not have been discovered: for I have since learnt that no one even entered his apartments. But how could I conceive that this was a general measure, in which I had no concern; or that the armed force were come for any other object than to arrest me? Who but would have been alike deceived? Meanwhile I followed my young guide. The distance was great, and I might easily have escaped, had I been better shod. I now arrived at the guard-house, where I found a great number of people, among whom were members of the municipality, townsmen upon guard, and several persons who were arrested for having neglected their *cartes de sûreté*. On being asked my name, I replied, "Aymé," which they added to a long list of other names; and on my repeating what I had said to the guard at the barrier, relative to fetching my *carte*, "*'Tis impossible!*" which was said bluntly, was the only reply. A few minutes after, twelve of us were

consigned to five fusileers, who conducted us to the Bureau Central, to which the road was longer than the way I had already walked. The guard performed their charge with the greatest negligence, being satisfied that none of us had any thing to fear, and that we should all be liberated as soon as we had made ourselves known. At length we arrived, and were placed in a large hall full of people, most of them extremely ill-looking men. I soon discovered from their language that a great portion of them were not there through any mistake; and unable to support a longer continuance in such bad company, and being convinced no means of escape remained, because when it came to my turn I must necessarily declare who I was, I resolved to address myself to the guard, whom I desired to inform the members of the Bureau Central, that a representative of the people was there, and desired to speak with them. This man presently conducted me to their presence, where I made myself known, and was immediately placed in the porter's lodge until orders should be received from the minister of the police. These orders arrived

on the following day, 15th Nivôse, when I was conducted to the tower of the Temple.

Thus then was I imprisoned in this new Bastile, where I found near eighty persons of all ages and conditions; of all opinions, and of all nations; among whom were the Chevalier d'Aranjo, the Portuguese ambassador, and Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who has since made his escape; also an adjutant of Pichegru, named Badouville, who was covered with wounds, which he had received in the service of the republic. Of this man, who was brave, honest and simple, hopes were entertained, that he might be made an instrument of accusation against his general. He said to every one that would listen to him, "I am kept here, in order to make me declare that Pichegru is a traitor; but they shall sooner tear me limb from limb, than make me assert so great a falsehood. Pichegru is a brave man, a good republican, and incapable of treason."— "You are very fortunate," said he, addressing himself to me, with an affecting simplicity, "in going to Cayenne: I wish I were going there to rejoin my general. I have been the companion of his glories, I would be so of his misfortunes."

I saw there a man named Armand, who passed for a spy of the Directory; and who, in concert with Duverne de Presle, had fabricated materials to establish the belief of our conspiracy. This, however, was the received opinion at the Temple; which was further confirmed by his not being transported to the deserts of Sinamary, though implicated in the transactions of Brothier and Lavilleheurnois, sentenced to imprisonment by the same judgment, and included, like them, in what is called the law of the 19th Fructidor. I saw there a man named François, who was conducted daily, during a month, to the minister of police, to make denunciations, in the hope of recovering his liberty by these odious means. I saw there persons accused of emigration, and of being Chouans; and, lastly, about forty persons, including old men, soldiers, peasants, and a lady from Dreux, of an interesting appearance and manners; all suspected of a chimerical conspiracy, and demanding, in vain, to be brought to trial. Surrounded by so many of the unfortunate, I almost forgot my own miseries; but that which affected me most deeply was the occupying the same prison where Louis

the XVIth, and his unfortunate family, were immured. This scene suggested many serious reflexions on the catastrophes of the great, and the dangers which arise from weakness in those who govern.

The jailer was a good sort of man, but his wife was one of those furies who had most distinguished themselves by their revolutionary excesses. My name had scarcely been set down in the prison books, before this woman eagerly spread a report through the prison, that one of the chief authors of the massacres of the South had just arrived. Fortunately her character was known, and my name pronounced: immediately every worthy or respectable prisoner, which they almost all were, came up to me, shewed me marks of the warmest interest, and offered me all the services in their power. I was particularly pleased with my colleague Rémuzat, whose nomination had been annulled on the 19th of Fructidor, when he was at first in the deportation list; but was afterwards erased from it, and was now detained for some private cause. His wife, who was a very worthy character, regardless of the weather, and her own bad health, came

daily from the *Place Vendôme* to the Temple, to mingle her tears with those of her husband during a space of three hours. I have learnt, since my return, that he had been cruelly persecuted after my departure; and that he did not recover his liberty till after the 18th of Brumaire.

The tower of the Temple is the place in which the archives of the order of Malta are deposited. To arrive there, it is necessary to pass the first court, the hôtel formerly occupied by the grand prior, but in my time by the gendarmerie; and a second court, formerly a garden, leading to a third, surrounded by very high walls. In this last stands the tower of the Temple, a pile of buildings consisting of several smaller towers; in the middle of which is a square edifice. The walls are extremely thick; a bed, at its full extent, easily enters the embrasures of the windows, which are lined with great bars of iron; the doors are extremely thick; that of the king's chamber is entirely of iron. At the entrance of the court are two wickets, which cannot be passed without stooping: there is one at the entrance of the tower; one at the

beginning of the stair-case; one on the stair-case, at the separation of each story; one at the entrance of the corridors that surround the apartments; and one to each apartment. The number of door-keepers was considerable; and, as a further precaution, there was a corps-de-garde in the court, and sentinels in every corner. The officers and soldiers had orders not to speak to us, and they faithfully executed this charge.

I was soon informed of the rules of the house. As a prisoner of state, I was to be treated as such; that is, with the attentions paid to prisoners of that class, among all civilized nations. I imagined a representative of the French nation would have the same treatment as an English commodore, or an ambassador from Portugal; nor was I deceived, for we were all on a footing of equality. The government supplied each of us with a truckle bed, a mattrass two inches thick, a pair of sheets of cloth fit for packing, and scarcely exceeding two feet in width, and a coarse woollen coverlet. These beds were placed so near together, that we had scarcely three feet space between them. Our food was no better. It consisted of bread and water, and soup once a-day.

We

We were indeed permitted to purchase whatever we wanted, or to have it brought in after the most severe examination ; but these conveniencies depended on our purses, and not on the munificence of the Directory, which afforded the commodore, the ambassador, and a national representative, no better accommodations than I have spoken of ; beyond which they might have been unable to procure any alleviation. At eight in the morning, our chamber doors were opened, and we were permitted to enter all those in the tower, or to go into the court. At four o'clock we were obliged to return into the tower, and our names were called over for the first time, and the outer gate was not again opened 'till next day. At eight we were shut up in our rooms, after being called over a second time. There was one class of prisoners who were kept closely locked up ; some of these were permitted to walk in the court for an hour, but without communicating with any person whomsoever, while others were not suffered to go out at all. I knew a lady who continued during 40 days in a turret, without seeing a human face except those of her keepers. As to correspondence, nothing was suffered to go

out or come in, without being carefully read by the register, who performed his charge with great rigour.

I continued in this place a month without the government appearing to take the least notice of me. " You will doubtless be suffered to stay " here," said my fellow prisoners; " no man will " be deported, who was not arrested on the 18th " Fructidor. The tyrants have accomplished " their object by removing you from your places, " and they can now do what they please without " the least obstacle; then why should they send " you to Cayenne ?" I was of a different opinion: nor was I at all surprised, when on the 16th Pluviôse the chevalier D'Aranjo, taking me aside, said to me, " I am just informed that the Bureau " Central, have demanded of the jailer a list of " the prisoners, who under the act of the 19th " Fructidor are liable to deportation. You are " of that number, continued he, and I doubt " not you will be sent off in a day or two." Two days after, an order for my departure arrived, and on the following day I was taken away by three gendarmes, together with a priest named Cardine who died at Guiana.

We had not the honour of a numerous escort, nor of being conveyed in iron cages, accompanied by artillery, as were my colleagues. We were only conducted from prison to prison, and from cart to cart, as far as Rochefort. Sometimes however the gendarmes permitted me to walk, and to enter the inns. We went by Versailles, Tours, Chartres, Vendôme, &c. which though a shorter route than that by Orleans, is so bad, that scarcely any one uses it, and when I observed to an inn-keeper, that he could not gain much on so unfrequented a road, his wife who was present, ingenuously said, "alas, sir, it is but "too true. We scarcely do any business, and if "the gendarmerie did not bring us some deport-"ed persons, we must put the key under the "door." In fact this was about the time, when those numerous victims were sent to Rochefort, which the Directory there accumulated.

We were joined at Châteaudun by a canon of that place named Doru, 66 years of age, and afflicted with a very large hernia. His name had been found upon a list which had been seized at the house of the grand vicar of Chartres-Dozier, who was also sent to Rochefort. He had made

this list unknown to the canon, who had no suspicion of it; and it is remarkable, the grand vicar was exempted from deportation, while the canon was condemned to it. He had been arrested at a marriage festival of one of his relations.

At Vendôme we passed the night in the prisons that had been occupied by Babœuf and the other individuals, who were tried by the high national court. Here I could not help reflecting, that some of these men had been regularly accused, solemnly indicted, permitted to defend themselves, and condemned to deportation, yet the government suffered them very quietly to remain in France, while I, who had neither been accused, tried, nor had an opportunity to defend myself, was punished with the utmost severity.

At Tours our party became very numerous. We were there joined by ten priests, and an apothecary of Sarguemins near seventy years old. I was told we should be put in chains, and that I should do well to follow the example of Gibert-Desmolières, who on his road had presented a petition to be exempted from that indignity, and had with great difficulty obtained

it; but I had so often been put in chains between Montelimar and Paris, that it became matter of indifference to me. I presented no petition, nor was I put in chains.

We travelled in two open carts, which conveyed us and our portmanteaus, and on these we sat, without the smallest protection from the inclemency of the season. The gendarmerie was now reinforced by a piquet of chasseurs, on account of the greatness of our number. I remember that having once obtained permission to walk, a chasseur dismounted and walked by my side. As the carts moved very slow, we left them above a league behind, and were alone in a forest, where the chasseur, who knew my name, said, "You "are going then to that accursed Cayenne, from "which no one ever returns."—"Yes, my "friend," replied I.—"By heavens you are very "obliging," said he; "were I in your place, I "would not go."—"But you see," said I, "that "I have no choice. I am in the hands of the "gendarmerie."—"The gendarmerie!" said he, "they are above a league off, and what hinders "you from making your escape through these "woods, which are close at hand?"—"What

" hinders me? you: for even should you not " oppose me, I would not compromise with " you."—" Oh," said he, " if that is all, you " may go. I am not your jailer: my business " is only to assist in case of rebellion, and it is " no rebellion to run away. I repeat, that were " I in your place, I would not delay a moment." I pressed this worthy fellow's hand with the warmest gratitude, but I would not comply with his advice.

It is true that on the 18th Fructidor my first thought was to elude the power of the tyrants, and three months after I yielded to the counsels of my friends, who were desirous I should quit the country: but when I was at the Temple, I formed a resolution to submit to my fate and go to Cayenne, even should I have an opportunity of escaping. In this I was determined by those considerations which have induced so many husbands and fathers of families to sacrifice themselves. I knew that the little property I had was under sequestration *; besides, I knew my pro-

* This sequestration was not removed till above a year after my arrival at Guiana was officially known, and not even then without great difficulty.

scribers too well, not to suspect that every one who should escape from deportation would be treated as an emigrant, as in fact they have since barbarously decreed. I therefore said, since they are determined to ruin me, let them be satisfied: but let me at least save my wife and children from the horrors of indigence, by preserving to them my very small fortune. This motive determined my conduct, as it did also on another occasion, of which I shall soon speak; nor did I make my escape from Guiana till I found myself surrounded by the dead and the dying, and thought myself fully authorized to go to the island of Oléron.

I arrived with my brave chasseur at St. Maur, where we were joined two days afterwards by the convoy. We were to have slept at the inn where we supped, but the keeper of the prisons having complained that he was deprived of his rights, the commander of the gendarmerie conducted us thither. The next day we came to Châtellerault, and again passed the night in prison. But, great God, what a prison was it! On my remonstrating to the jailer, he said to me, "You are extremely nice. "Pichegru, Barthélemy, and your other com- "rades, who I imagine are as good as you,

" slept there." I knew, indeed, that the conqueror of Holland, the man who had made peace with Spain and Prussia, who had done honour to his country by his legation, and whom all France had called against his will to the Directory, had passed the night in a dungeon appropriated to the vilest criminals; and, after such instances, I felt that I had little reason to complain, and therefore was silent.

At Poitiers the municipality came to visit us, and gave humane orders to the jailer, who was previously disposed to comply with them. At St. Maixent we met with several English prisoners, who had just arrived on their way into the interior of the country; and the commander of a company of infantry who had escorted them, was now charged with conducting us to Niort. This man had no appearance of moroseness, nor do I think he was so in reality; for he caused us to stop on the road for refreshments, and talked to us with a good deal of humanity. But he discharged his duty with that rigour so often experienced among the Swiss and Germans, and which might have materially injured us. He had read in his instructions that we were to be conveyed

conveyed in carriages, and therefore insisted on this order being literally complied with. Unfortunately the road from St. Maixent to Niort was the most wretched of all the route. We requested him in vain to let us walk over the worst part of it, and represented to him, that, as we were surrounded by a whole company, we could give him no uneasiness. But he only replied, "My orders do not admit of it; *it is there writ-*" *ten that you are to be conveyed in carts.*" Thus in the carts we were compelled to remain; and thought ourselves very fortunate in not being thrown out of them.

At Niort, where I staid some time, I was witness to a most afflicting sight. About three o'clock in the afternoon several priests, who had been on the road all the morning, in constant rain and snow, entered the prison. Among them was an old man seventy-five years of age, who had been grand-vicar of Bourges. This man, who was very infirm, was terribly bruised by the jolting of the cart, and almost frozen. It was necessary to carry him to the fire, and it required great exertions to recover him. In this we at length succeeded, and he thanked us in the most

grateful manner, but did not suffer the smallest complaint against his jailers to escape him.

At length we arrived at Rochefort, on the 9th Ventôse, where we were conducted to the municipality, who took our descriptions. They sent me, together with the priest Cardine, to the prison of St. Maurice; and my other companions were sent to the hospital of marines.

The first person I met on entering was the virtuous Gibert-Desmolières, who had been arrested, some time after Fructidor, at a house in the neighbourhood of Paris; at which intelligence had been given to the police that emigrants were lodged. When the armed force approached, Desmolières attempted to make his escape, but the soldiers, seeing a man run away, pursued him; and Gibert, fearing to be maltreated, told them his name. "We were not in search of you," said they, "but after what you tell us, we cannot avoid taking you." Thus he was conducted to the Temple, where his mother, though eighty years of age, visited him every day. Nor was he unworthy of her affection; for never did I see a man carry filial piety further; he talked of nothing but of his vene-

rable mother, who was ever present to his thoughts. He was brought nearly in the same manner as myself from Paris to Rochefort, with Isidore Langlois, Jardin, and Perlet.

He no sooner saw me than he pressed me in his arms. " My friend," said he, " we are the " victims of injustice, but have not deserved it ; " and that ought to be our consolation. Let us " support it with courage. May our unhappy " country never have cause to repent of our pro- " scription."

The day after my arrival at Rochefort, M. Pelletreau, a merchant, delivered me 150 louis-d'ors, which he had received for my use. I had hitherto constantly refused this succour, which my friend had often pressed on me at the Temple ; but at this time I was persuaded to accept it, and found it extremely useful. My generous friend, who hast thus delicately relieved my wants, receive my warmest thanks ! and, till I am able to acquit this debt, accept, as the only reward of your kindness I can now offer, the assurance that you have rendered me a most essential service ; to which I believe myself indebted for my existence !

The prison of St. Maurice was full. It contained a great many priests, who were crowded together in a large hall, where they were very ill accommodated, ill fed, and treated with inhumanity. Scarcely were they able to breathe; and one of them having opened the shutter of a window that was secured with iron bars, to procure a little air, the sentinel fired at him. The ball rebounded from the vault, where it spent part of its force, and dangerously wounded one of the unfortunate prisoners. Gibert-Desmolières, Perlet, three other prisoners, and myself, were placed in a small room, where we were somewhat less incommoded. Richer-Sérizy, whom the Directory had caused to be arrested in Switzerland, and transferred to Rochefort, was lodged in another chamber, together with Langlois. They had formed a scheme of escaping; in which neither Gibert-Desmolières, Perlet, nor myself, although very strongly solicited, would consent to join. I have already assigned my motives for this determination; and those of Perlet and Desmolières were nearly the same. "Would you wish," said the latter, when pressed to go, "that I should leave my aged mo-

ther, who is above eighty years old, exposed to total indigence ? She has no other means of subsistence but the little property I possessed, and I will not have to reproach myself with depriving her of it."

Jardin, who was in the prison of the hospital, had just effected his escape ; and Sérizy and Langlois did the like. They quitted the prison through the door, of which the key had been procured for them ; it was believed they had escaped through the window, one of the bars being cut, and some clothes found hanging on the outside. But this was a mere feint to save the turnkey from punishment ; for he was tried, and acquitted on that account. Since my return I have seen Langlois, and with the more pleasure, as his state of health was so bad that he could never have survived, I will not say the effects of the climate of Guiana, but the horrors of the voyage. That worthy, that courageous man would have been no more.

Langlois and Sérizy were scarcely gone, before the general order for the departure of the deported arrived. On the 21st Ventôse, at nine in the morning, we had notice to be in readiness,

and at ten we were taken from the prison, and marched to the beating of drums, between two ranks of soldiers, to the marine hospital, where we joined other victims; with whom we continued our march in the same manner to the port. To those who have witnessed the affecting processions of unfortunate captives ransomed from the Moors by the Monks of La Merci, ours would appear a striking contrast; and not the less so for our having one of the priests of that order among our number.

We were now put on board several lighters, which conveyed us on board the frigate *la Charente*, lying in the great road, and commanded by Capt. Breuillac. As we proceeded through the streets of Rochefort, I remarked, as I had throughout our journey from Paris, that consternation was strongly impressed on every countenance, combined with the most lively interest in our fate. Only one man appeared elated with joy; he was in full uniform, his sabre at his side, a tricoloured plume in his hat; and he seemed very proud of the part he was acting. This man was the commissary of the Directory, with the municipal administration.

We now lay at anchor in the road between the small island of Aix and that of Notre-Dame, called also l'Isle des Prêtres, because in 1793 and 1794, of about seven hundred of these unfortunate men, who had long remained prisoners on board a ship, above five hundred of them perished, and were buried in this island. Some of their survivors were now among our number, and feared they should again be left prisoners on board the frigate; for no confinement is so cruel or so dangerous as that of a prison-ship. Meanwhile we were detained in the road during ten days by contrary winds, and the sight of an English man of war and two frigates, who came very close to observe us.

During this interval more victims were brought, and two were conveyed back to Rochefort, as having lost their senses. One of them was a priest of Bagnols, who imagined himself a cardinal, but reasoned sensibly on all other subjects. He was of a mild temper, and appeared extremely gay. When any one spoke to him of the office of cardinal, he seemed much pleased with the conversation, and carried it on with a seriousness that was highly ludicrous. Nothing, how-

ever, gave him so much pain in his present situation as not being able to be present at the conclave; which, from the age and misfortunes of the Pope, he considered as speedily to take place. I was never able to discover whether this madness was real or affected; but, be that as it may, it equally preserved him from deportation. The other was an old officer, and knight of St. Louis, named Jacob. This man was really insane, and had given several unequivocal proofs of his derangement; one of which was the coolly throwing all his effects into the sea, and then, with the utmost tranquillity, jumping into it himself. Some sailors, however, saved him from sinking; but he appeared totally insensible of the benefit they had conferred.

The list of the deported being made out, we were found to be one hundred and ninety-three in number; about two-thirds of whom were priests. The remainder consisted of two representatives; namely, Gibert-Desmolières and myself; a printer, of a journal, Perlet; several persons accused of emigration, most of them of the class of artisans; and lastly, since I must tell the whole truth, five persons convicted of theft;

one

one of whom had been twenty years on board the galleys. The Directory thought that, by associating us with these men, they should degrade us in the opinion of the inhabitants of Cayenne, where they wished to have us treated as malefactors; an intention in which their agents heartily concurred. But, on the contrary, this circumstance produced, in the minds of the inhabitants of that colony, the effect such a circumstance must ever produce in every honest mind, by impressing them with the deepest indignation toward the authors of this shameful insult, which, I believe, is unparalleled in the history of the revolution; for, under the first system of terror, men who were imprisoned for crimes were not thus confounded, in the prisons, with those who were arrested merely for their opinions.

On the 30th Ventôse our frigate, and that called *la Décade*, which lay along side us, fired several salutes, and appeared magnificently decorated with colours. On inquiring the cause, I was informed, it was in celebration of a newly established festival in honour of the sovereignty of the people. At first I took this for a joke,

recollecting the outrage with which this sovereign had been treated six months before, by proscribing a part of their representatives, and dismissing the rest with less ceremony than a master would employ in discharging a servant. But having soon discovered that the intelligence I had received was true, I could not help making the following observation: The legislative body treat the people of France as the Jews treated Jesus-Christ, when they said to him, *Hail, King of the Jews,* and spat in his face.

The English ships having now disappeared, and the wind being favourable, we weighed anchor, and set sail the next morning, namely, on the 1st Germinal; on which occasion we all felt as though our hearts would break, when we reflected that we were leaving, perhaps for ever, the dearest objects of our affection, which some of us, at least, would never more behold. Those who, like me, had left a wife and children, with a very small and sequestered fortune, were the most painfully tortured with these anxieties. Ah! how cruel the sensation of those who behold the land which contains every thing that renders life dear flying from them, and diminishing

each moment to the view! and when driven from it by a proscription of which the limits are unknown. How many tender remembrances and heart-rending ideas crowd at once upon the mind, and overpower the soul!

At night we lost sight of land, and the next morning at daybreak we heard an extraordinary bustle on board, which, as we soon learnt, was occasioned by seeing the three English ships, that had come to observe us when at anchor in the road, and which now gave us chace. The captain had tacked, and was endeavouring to lighten his ship, not only to sail faster, but that we might draw less water, and thus approach so near to the shore, (in case it should be necessary to run aground, as he apprehended,) that the English would not venture to follow him. The wine and water casks were staved, the contents pumped up, and every thing thrown overboard that contributed to overload the ship. Some of the officers informed some of our number, that they considered it as unavoidable that we should be obliged to run ashore, and advised us to take advantage of the confusion arising from this event to make our escape. One of them offered to take care of

my trunk, and send it afterwards to any place I should desire.

Meanwhile the English gained fast upon us, and the captain prepared for an engagement. Towards night we got sight of the coast of Arcasson, and at midnight the enemy came up with us and attacked us. The fire was very brisk on both sides, and continued till four in the morning. Our frigate, which maintained a running fight, fired 354 guns. We touched ground several times, and were in continual fear of bulging, till at length we ran on shore; upon which the English, who drew more water than us, were afraid to pursue us any further.

As soon as we were aground, every one of the sailors began to plunder the unfortunate prisoners. Our portmanteaus were gutted, our trunks were broke open, and the pillage was in general, as if we had been on board an enemy's ship; nor could the officers, who were fully employed in the care of the ship, prevent it; still less could we ourselves, since we were not in the part of the ship our trunks were stowed, and even totally ignorant of what was passing.

The pillage was so general, that several of us

were left quite destitute, and very few were exempt. I was of this number; but was not the less urgent in my outcry for the restitution of the stolen goods. But this restitution was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding all the exertions of the officers. It may be thought difficult to conceal a robbery of any considerable magnitude on board a ship, but it is no less true, that the sailors can effect it, since there are various places in the holds of ships and elsewhere, that are inaccessible to the strictest search.

The longboat was now launched, and the sailors and soldiers threw themselves into it, considering the ship as exposed to great danger. When it was full, the captain threatened to fire at any one who should attempt to go over the ship's side: nor did they reach the shore without some danger in attempting to land, being driven back by the surf, for the boat was almost full of water.

Preparations were already making for a second embarkation, when the tide rising set the ship afloat, and the captain fired a gun for a coasting pilot to come on board. Meanwhile he endeavoured to work his ship into the mouth of the river of Bordeaux, when he cast anchor

opposite to Royan. Here the party who had gone on shore joined us, but the English dared not follow us, being deterred perhaps by fear of the forts and shallows that defend the mouth of this river.

And here let me pay a just tribute of praise to the bravery of the officers and crew, who throughout so unequal a fight kept up the most regular and constant fire, and encouraged each other to defend themselves. When we ran aground, the captain declared he would be the last to quit the ship, and I doubt not he would have kept his word. It is also a pleasure to me to bestow the like praise on his humanity: the moment the fire had ceased, he sent an officer to offer brandy to the deported in general, and other accommodations to those who should have particular need of them. He paid great attention to Gibert-Desmolières, who had been recommended to him, and acted towards the rest of us as kindly as he could. The same may be said of the other officers, who treated some of us rather as companions than prisoners. Some of them indeed were extremely indignant at the part they were obliged to act. " Let them send us against

the enemies of our country," said they, "for that is our business and our duty, and we will discharge it with pleasure; but to make us the jailers of the honest men they persecute, and whom we are proud of esteeming, is abominable. We are forced however to obey, or be cashiered; and what can men do whose profession is their only support? The only consolation that remains is to alleviate their fate as much as possible, which we will do to the utmost of our power." But, alas! their good dispositions soon became wholly fruitless; for it was our fate to be removed on board another ship, where we were treated in a very different manner.

If the reader asks how many men we lost during the long and brisk engagement above described, he will be astonished to hear that we had none killed or even wounded on board our frigate; though one of our officers, named Michel, had his hat torn. Nor let it be supposed we were beyond the reach of the enemy's guns; for I saw about sixty holes in the sails, a very large one in the foremast, the barricadoes of the quarter-deck pierced through and through near the captain's post, the helm dismounted, a twelve-pounder

injured, and several balls in the body of the ship. It appeared to me extraordinary that this engagement was not more fatal to the officers and crew*. As for us, we remained between decks, where we imagined we incurred less risk from the fire; and sentinels were placed at the hatchways to prevent our quitting our station, should we attempt to come on deck.

On this occasion several of the deported, listening to the dictates of courage alone, earnestly requested to take their share in the combat. These offers were refused, as it may naturally be supposed, though I can solemnly attest their sincerity. The captain, however, with the best intentions, imprudently mentioned it in the narrative he sent to the minister, for which he was severely reprimanded. Had the frigate been saved to the republic by means of the deported, and the fact been known, the Directory would have been in despair.

* The reason will be evident to every English reader, who reflects, that as la Charente was maintaining a running fight, the surest way of coming up with her, was to disable her rigging. *Translator.*

A few

A few days after the engagement, some commissaries of marine from Bordeaux came to examine the ship, which they determined to be unfit for the voyage to Cayenne, or even to serve at all without great repairs; and as these were at the charge of the state, they strongly urged her being sent back to the docks at Rochefort, although those of Bordeaux were much nearer, and the danger of returning to the former port was very great.

We had been led to hope, that the frigate, after unloading her guns, would sail up the Gironde at least as far as Blaye, and that we should either be lodged in the fort, or conveyed to Bordeaux, till measures should again be taken for our voyage. Upon this, however, the captain would not venture to determine, but took the instructions of the commandant of marine at Rochefort, who being equally timid, wrote to the minister; and the latter, restrained by similar motives, applied to the Directory, who ordered that we should remain in the road; at least we were so informed. Here we continued above a month, and here for the last time I heard from my wife and children. From that time till my

return to France I was even ignorant whether they existed; the last agent of the Directory at Cayenne having made his chief pleasure to consist in depriving the deported of the correspondence of their families.

On the 4th Floréal the frigate la Décade arrived, and we were immediately put on board, to our very great regret; for, while in the prison at Rochefort, some very worthy people who came to visit us had said to us, "there are two frigates in the road; but fortunately you will be on board la Charente, which is under the command of very good kind of people, and not on board la Décade, where you would be in the hands of the most furious Jacobins. The captain, whose name is Villeneau, is of this town, and is well known to be of that party: he has already expressed his regret at not having charge of you; and given us to understand that he would not spare you." Nor did he spare us,—and his officers perfectly coincided with his views. They were almost all of them men who had distinguished themselves in the revolutionary committees, and one of them had acquired the horrid reputation of having included his nearest relations in the

number of his victims. I can only except Lieutenant Jagot, who always appeared to feel for our misfortunes, and never spoke to us without marks of humanity, and as a man who had been well educated. I am certain that, had it been in his power to mitigate our afflictions, he would have contributed to it with pleasure; and, though I never received from him any personal service, may he accept this testimony as a pledge of the gratitude of all the deported.

We were scarcely on board la Décade, before the captain, having caused a signal for attention to be given, proclaimed aloud, that the deported must conform to his orders, and particularly to those contained in a paper stuck up on board; and that in default of this they would be put in irons, and treated with the utmost severity. This paper was as follows:

"The deported shall remain in the place appointed for them from six in the evening 'till half past seven in the morning, or later if necessary for cleaning the deck, or for any other reason. At the interval between meals, and at the hours here mentioned, when the weather and

other circumstances permit, the deported may be upon the gangways between the forecastle and the quarter deck, or on the batteries; but never under any pretext whatever shall they go astern of the mainmast, nor into the cook-room of the ship, under penalty of being punished as violaters of the orders of the service. They are expressly prohibited from holding conversation with any of the crew, or insulting any one, under the like penalties. Nor shall they address any paper to the captain, except letters to go on shore, which shall always be open. Every petition or request shall be given verbally to the officers, and sub-officers belonging to the service.

"Whenever the drums shall beat, the deported shall retire to their station *with precipitation*, unless other orders shall be given. If any dispute arise between any of the deported, it shall cease on the first order they may receive to that effect, under penalty of being put under arrest, and in irons in the place of their detention, until the captain shall order otherwise.

" All the deported shall conform to the orders herein-before prescribed, under penalty of being punished according to law."

" VILLENEAU,
" Commander of la Décade."

" *On board la Décade,*
" *6th Year of the Republic.*"

From this example, the reader may judge of the character and conduct of Captain Villeneau, and anticipate the kind of treatment we have experienced. The details I am about to give, will make him still better known. I am aware this treatment was dictated by superior orders; and that it would be unjust exclusively to attribute it to our captains; but in the same proportion, in which the commander of la Charente endeavoured to mitigate them, our present captain increased their severity.

I will begin with relating a circumstance, which, though trifling in itself, may mark the different characters of these men. As long as we were on board la Charente, the general orders for our meals, and for returning to our stations were given us under a softened name. At these times

the boatswain called, *passengers* to dinner; *passengers* to supper; *passengers* to bed, &c.; but on board la Décade we did not experience this tenderness. The call was only, the *deported* to dinner, &c.

We were placed in the between-decks, between the foremast and mainmast, occupying nearly one fourth of the superficies of the vessel, having about four feet and a half in height, and receiving no light but by the scuttles; that is to say, by two openings of three feet square, through which we went up and down, by means of a ladder placed almost perpendicular, and the steps of which were scarcely three inches deep. Many of the deported fell as they came down; and although the whole depth was not great, they often hurt themselves extremely. I fell twice, and felt the consequences long after. But when we were obliged to enter *with precipitation*, as our instructions bore on the occasions there stated, accidents became more frequent. They also occurred very often in descending from the gangway to the battery, where the same difficulty existed.

Partitions had been made in this part of the between-decks, resembling the paling used in a

park to inclose cattle. In this place, the door of which was locked, were crowded and squeezed together 193 individuals mostly aged and infirm. We lay in two rows one over the other, forming as it were two stories, in hammocks of coarse cloth, and extremely narrow. Those above were hung as close as possible to the upper deck, but the weight of the body brought them down so low, that they almost touched those below, and thus almost insupportably harrassed and incommoded them.

Those above could not raise their heads without striking against the deck, nor those below without hitting those above. Neither could any of us make the smallest motion without disturbing his neighbours; for we all touched each other, and, not having the least spare room, formed as it were but one mass. We had not sufficient room to undress ourselves; we therefore went to bed in our cloaths, and endeavoured when we were placed in our hammocks to rid ourselves of some part of our dress, which was no easy task: and that nothing might be wanting to increase the horror of our situation, as we were not permitted to go out for fourteen hours toge-

ther, and sometimes more, tubs had been placed in the midst of us, where we might satisfy the indispensable wants of nature; and to get to these sorry receptacles, we were obliged to creep on our bellies, beneath the hammocks. How insupportable then must have been the infection of such a close and confined place, which was already poisoned by our own exhalations! Indeed, the air which passed from this hole, was so hot and fetid, that the centinels placed at the hatchways as our guard, demanded that the time of their duty, at so dangerous a post, might be shortened.

In the morning, after the crew had washed the ship, an order was issued for us to quit our situation, when we presented a most pitiable spectacle.—Our bodies reeking with sweat, our hair dripping wet, our faces enflamed, and all of us labouring to breathe, and to qualify with a pure air, the pestilential vapours with which we were puffed up.—We ran eagerly to the sea water to wash our hands and face, and several of us rinced our mouths with it, notwithstanding its disgusting taste. Fresh water was exclusively reserved to drink. But how is it possible to present

sent a picture of the most loathsome plague that men accustomed to cleanliness can suffer; and from which no care, nor change of linen will prove a protection on board a-ship, when people are crowded together as we were: How is it possible to represent men accustomed to the elegance of life, continually occupied in preserving themselves..... Those who have sometimes seen, at the gates of our churches, poor wretches devoured by vermin, and engaged in the same occupation, will completely understand the allusion, and fully comprehend this part of our misery*.

* These details are so disgusting, that it is offensive to delicacy to give a narrative of them. But in a work of this nature, its object would be diminished, if it were not to be mentioned, that every morning, after having breathed a little fresh air, we were obliged to pull off our shirts which were covered with vermin, and thus in a naked state, on the deck or the channels, we employed ourselves for an whole hour in getting rid of them: and we each of us destroyed at least an hundred every day. If it is recollected we were obliged to go to bed in our cloaths, and when it is known that several of us had not taken off our lesser garments during the voyage, it may be easily conceived, that it was not our linen alone, into which these horrible vermin had introduced themselves.

We had been divided into classes of seven, for the distribution of our provisions. At eight o'clock, our breakfast was brought to us, consisting of a small portion of biscuit verging to putrefaction, and frequently full of worms, which was served in a wooden platter, with a small glass of brandy for each of us in a wooden can. At eleven we had our dinner, which was the same biscuit, with lard, salt beef, or salt fish, for these three articles were allowed us in their turns, and about half a pint of wine. At four or five, we supped, on the same kind of biscuit, with a repetition of the half pint of wine, and a soup of horse beans. Besides the bad quality of this coarse food, it was neither clean nor in sufficient quantities. The ship's cook was the most filthy person that I had ever beheld. Nor was it uncommon to find hairs in our messes; which were so small, that if several of us had not been prevented by disgust from eating the whole of their portions, the rest, who profited of that circumstance, would not have had sufficient to sustain themselves. Remonstrances were frequently made on this subject, but I have no reason to suppose that any attention whatever was paid to them.

With respect to water, we were unrestrained; but what water!—after having passed the tropic, its infection was such, that it was absolutely necessary to stop the nostrils, in order to swallow it.

We had no other utensils than those already mentioned, in which were made the distribution of our three meals. We had neither knives, forks, or spoons, and each of us contrived as well as we could without them. The battery, that is the space between the main and mizen masts, was appropriated for our refectory; so that we had about as much room for eating as sleeping; as its sides were occupied by cannon, and its centre by boats, we were therefore compelled to eat standing between the boats and the great guns, as the place did not admit of our sitting down. With every kind of contrivance and squeezing close, the individuals of each mess could scarce make space enough in the midst of them where they could place the platter and the can, though they set them on each other; and if the vessel made the least roll, we tumbled one upon another. Thus we spilled our wine, while the food we held in our hands fell into the dirt beneath our feet,

and which many of us did not fail to gather up again, as life cannot be sustained without eating something.—We resembled a flock of animals who eat their food out of one common trough; but with this distinction, that they enjoy the tranquillity which we could not possess. The officer who superintended the distribution of our meals, was in the habit of making our situation a subject of mirth; and to render it still more painful, we every day saw pass before us, the dishes, which were equally plentiful and delicate, that were prepared for the principal cabin.

Such is the manner, with some little difference that proceeded from the humanity of captain Breuillac, in which we existed from the 21st Ventôse, when we embarked, to the 4th of Floréal, when we were turned over to the Décade. But such was the actual treatment which we afterwards received till we had passed the tropic. Some alteration then took place in our condition, which was altogether useless, as will hereafter appear.—O you, who so rashly condemned to banishment those men whom the French people had chosen to fill the first order of magistracy; whose conduct has been irreproachable, and in

whom you found no other crime but a refusal to share in yours, did you expect that they would be treated with such barbarous indignity? Did you imagine, when you declared it to be a measure avowed by humanity, that your colleagues would be dragged from dungeon to dungeon, associated with galley-slaves, thrown into pestilential dungeons, condemned to breathe an infected air, to receive no food but such as was unwholesome, disgusting, and insufficient, to experience all the horrors that must proceed from a state of filth, of want and wretchedness? Our blood, it is true, was not shed; but there was not one of us, who would not have a thousand times preferred a speedy death, to the miserable state in which we existed. Which of us has not frequently exclaimed, why did they not order us to be shot at once, and by such a sentence diminish the measure of our sufferings? And you, who were charged with conducting us to exile, and calmly commanded all the atrocities which I have here described, what an heart of iron must you have received from nature!

There was every reason to expect that one half of us would have been the victims of such

inhuman treatment; nevertheless, astonishing as it must appear, under these circumstances, as in the history of the engagement, not one of us perished. If throughout Europe, an hundred and ninety-three persons were chosen, of the strongest constitutions, in the prime of life, and of those classes the most accustomed to hardships, and were to suffer the treatment which we received during ninety-six days, the chances would be very much against a similar result. It was evident to me, that our preservation was owing to the rigid observance of the method so successfully practised and strongly recommended by Captain Cook. Every morning the deck was well washed; every other day our dungeon was cleaned and sweetened. We were made to bring our hammocks upon deck. Every part between the decks was swept and scraped, to which was added an abundant fumigation of vinegar and gun-powder. There is no reason, however, to suppose that these precautions were taken for our sakes, but to preserve the crew of the ship, as it would not have been possible for them to escape the contagion, if any epidemical disorder had broke out among us. But though the exiles did

not perish on board the frigate, they contracted there several disorders, and imbibed that pestilential taint which appeared, with so many cruel circumstances, on their arrival in Guiana, and of which one half of them died in a very short time.

The 7th Floréal (27th April) our frigate set sail for Cayenne, in company with a large privateer belonging to Bordeaux, whom Villeneau engaged to follow him as far as the Canaries. He was glad to secure such a support, in case we should be so unfortunate as to fall in with the enemy; for we had frequent occasion to observe that he was destitute of that courage which is the common quality of Frenchmen. We soon lost sight of the French coast; but it was not our lot now, as on our first departure, to see it again the following day. The greater part of us had now beheld their country for the last time. Three days afterwards we were becalmed in the Gulph of Gascogne, where we remained during eight days. We could clearly distinguish the summit of the mountains of the Asturias, which were covered with snow; the towns of Bilboa and Saint Ander, and all that part of the Spanish

coast, which we nearly approached. The wind springing up, we doubled Cape Ortegal, and saw the land no more. The privateer now left us for the coast of Portugal, in the expectation of making some prizes, but appointed a future rendezvous, in the course of three days, which, as it was arranged by means of a speaking trumpet, could not be unknown to us. At the time appointed, a signal was given of a vessel being in sight. On the instant, Villeneau, presuming, as may be supposed, that the rendezvous given to the privateer had escaped the memory of every one on board, ordered the decks to be cleared, the matches to be lighted, and every preparation to be made not only for an engagement, but even to board the enemy. The deck was covered with pikes, axes, and sabres, and every thing announced a very serious combat. The crew, while they were making all these preparations, secretly laughed at the assumed courage of their commander. At length, however, the vessel that had occasioned so much hurry and bustle was known to be the privateer; the captain of which related, that he had met with three large Portuguese merchantmen, whom he had cannonaded without effect, and proposed

to

to Villeneau to follow him, with the assurance that they could not escape them. But our captain replied, that his orders were such as to render it impracticable for him to deviate from his course. The ship's company were enraged at this answer, which deprived them of a capture that they were so anxious to possess, and would have preferred to follow the privateer, which now separated from us, and we saw her no more.

A few days after, an English brig, which did not expect to meet a French frigate in these seas, approached us with confidence, as Villeneau had hoisted English colours, which is the common practice, in order to deceive an enemy. When he found her within gun-shot, and that she had no means of defence, he hoisted his own colours, and ordered her to strike. This capture was of little consequence, as the cargo of the brig consisted of nothing but salt. Villeneau would not sink her, because he could not receive her crew; and he did not think proper to take her in tow, as that would retard his course. He contented himself, therefore, with taking a part of her marine instruments, sails and provisions; so that she was scarcely left with a sufficient equipment to

reach the land. Among the provisions were some lemons and dried figs, which were distributed to the sailors, who sold them to us at a very high price. From the eagerness of the purchasers, it might have been supposed that these articles were a free gift; but when men are dying from hunger, they pay little attention to the price of what will alleviate their sufferings.

The apprehension of an enemy, who might possess superior means of defence, induced Villeneau to deviate so far from the ordinary course; and he had, besides, been so erroneous in the calculation of his longitude, that when he had the least suspicion of such a circumstance, a signal was given from the mast-head of breakers, within the distance of two miles. They were occasioned by the vicinity of the Cape de Verd Islands, which a very thick fog had concealed from observation. This circumstance caused a very great alarm; but, fortunately, there was but little wind, and we passed through these islands without any accident. Though we were very near them, we discovered neither men nor animals, or any other circumstance of an inhabited country. On a succeeding day, fresh

alarms were created by the signal of a ship in sight, which proved to be nothing more than a blower, whose column of water was taken for a mast. On other occasions, when similar signals were given, the countenance of the captain instantly became pale; and we heard him inquire, in a tone of apprehension, is it a large vessel? Has she got the wind of us? Is there more than one of them?—Though these are the common questions on such occasions, the tone in which they were asked was so extraordinary, that the sailors made them a continual subject of merriment; and it was a contest among them who should display the most pleasantry at the expense of their captain. I have been since informed that he was taken on his return from Cayenne; nor did such an event surprise me. He was far more formidable to the unfortunate Frenchmen who were in his power, than to the enemies of his country.

When we gained the tropic, many of us had fallen sick: some were attacked by a fever, and others were afflicted with the scurvy; who were allowed to be put on the sick list, and were treated accordingly. The care of them was ad-

ministered with profound ignorance; the same ptisan and the same medicine were applied, without distinction, to every kind of disorder; while the indifference, neglect, and even cruelty, which accompanied the application, were equally evident. Perlet was among the sick; and as he was one day waiting at the bottom of the ladder that descends between decks, the foot of the sailor slipped who was the bearer of the kettle, and the hot broth falling on Perlet's leg, it was scalded in a very bad manner: an accident which was attended with disagreeable consequences. There was another patient, whose name was Bremon, who had a very large swelling on his knee, which he had formed a design to extirpate, and he actually executed it at Cayenne, where he died. But wherefore, said I to him, did you not suffer this operation in France, where you had such superior resources, among professional men?—"Oh!" replied he, "I was not such a fool as to think of getting "rid of it there, as it preserved me during the "time of Robespierre, from a sentiment of "compassion; being persuaded, however, that "the priests would again be persecuted, I

" kept it as a preservative. But I am treated " with greater cruelty now than even at that " period, as you perceive it has not saved me " from exile."

The number of sick increasing every day, the captain became alarmed for his ship's company, and, perhaps, for himself; and, as the first cause of the disorder proceeded from the infected air which we breathed in our dungeon, he determined, after we had passed the tropic, that every two hours, during the night, twenty-five of us should go upon the deck. This indulgence did but little good, and was attended with considerable inconvenience. The going out and coming in of the twenty-five persons, added to the ordinary noise of the ship, awaked us every two hours, or rather prevented us from taking any rest throughout the night; for we had scarcely composed ourselves to sleep, when the same ceremony was renewed, and produced the same effect. On the other hand, when we all of us went down together below deck, as was usual in the evening, the place having been aired and sweetened during the day, we accustomed ourselves insensibly to its fetid vapours; but

when, in the middle of the night, we re-entered this pestilential furnace, we felt an heat, and experienced an odour that we could scarce support. Before we had completely entered it, and while yet, as it were, at its door, the interior heat was so penetrating as to give us the sensation of being plunged in a very hot bath; which, when once inclosed, was succeeded by that of being poisoned. I profited but twice of this indulgence, and many others of the exiles refused it altogether. Some attempted to hide themselves when they were called to return to their den, but they never failed to be pursued, with the greatest fury, by the officer employed on duty. He was specially ordered to make us enter, without delay of a moment, at the appointed time; and never discharged this function, without bellowing in our ears,

"*Tyrants, descend into your tomb!*"

And a real tomb was the place into which we were driven; but there could be no reason to suspect that we were the tyrants.

Our passage was not attended by any remarkable circumstance. The ship's company lost but one man in the course of it: a sailor,

during the night and in a storm, fell into the sea as he was performing some manœuvre, and appeared no more. Nor did we meet with any ships but those already mentioned. Some troops of porpoises, two young sharks, which were caught and eaten by the sailors; flying fish, that sometimes entered the port-holes; and, lastly, a fish about twenty feet in length, which followed our vessel for near an hour, and whose name was unknown to us, furnish the detail of every thing we saw of the finny tribe.

From the varying appearance of the colour of the water, which was no longer green, it was perceived that we were in the current of the Amazons, and that we should very shortly come in sight of land. On the 20th Prairial (9th May) we discovered the Cape d'Orange; soon after we saw and doubled the Constable; and on the 22d we found ourselves off Cayenne, and anchored near l'*Enfant-Perdu*, about four leagues from that capital of French Guiana, as there was not water enough to approach nearer without considerable danger.

The next day, the captain went to Cayenne in his boat, to notify to the government the object of his mission. We were accordingly left

under the command of Lieutenant Jagot, who afforded us every alleviation in his power. The word *passengers* was substituted for that of *exiles*, and we thought ourselves once more on board the *Charente*. The boat returned without the captain, but with a cargo of fruits, which the sailors were disposed to sell very dear; the lieutenant however interfered, and fixed the sale at a moderate price.

I was now informed of the escape of Pichegru, Willot, de la Rue, Aubry, Barthélemy, his respectable friend le Tellier, Ramel and Dossonville, who about three days before had left Sinamary*. I am ready to confess that the first impression of this intelligence was extremely painful to me. I found myself deprived at once of some very estimable persons, on whose society I had fondly depended to alleviate the weight of my captivity; as I presumed that we should have been all of us permitted to inhabit the same place. But the moment of reflexion succeeded, my sentiments underwent a change;—I exclaimed, they are so many victims escaped from their

* *See Ramel's Narrative*, p. 190.

tyrants,—

tyrants,—and was instantly consoled for their departure.

On the 24th Prairial, the Eagle schooner came to receive those of us who were sick. They amounted to about fifty-five, and were conducted to the civil and military hospital. This establishment was entrusted to the care of certain religious women, called *les sœurs hospitalières*. They were seven in number, and had, almost miraculously, escaped the ravages of the revolution. More than once, a disposition to disturb them had appeared; but the soldiers, who in their various maladies had experienced the good effects of their tender and benevolent care, interfered to protect them. I was so fortunate as never to be in a situation that required the aid of their ministry; but I have been informed by those of my companions who had been in the hospital, that it was impossible to excel them in those affecting attentions, which prove to the unhappy sufferer, that there are fellow-creatures who interest themselves in his welfare; and by instilling a salutary balm into the heart, operate oftentimes with a more saving effect than any medical remedy. No labour fatigued, no employment dis-

gusted these respectable women: to assuage the pain of the sick exiles was their constant occupation; to console them was their most delightful recreation. What attentions did they lavish on the unfortunate Murinais, while he was at Cayenne; and all his wishes, when he felt the approach of death, was to return thither and expire in their arms. He demanded this permission as a favour, but he could not obtain it.

The next day, the Victory schooner, and the day following, (15 May,) the Eagle schooner, took away the other exiles. I was among the last, and I set my foot on firm ground, after having been ninety-six days at sea, forty-six of which were employed in the passage. On our arrival at the port of Cayenne, where we disembarked, I was struck with the contrast that appeared in the mixture of white, mulatto, and black people, who were assembled to see us. The naked appearance of the latter was perfectly disgusting to me. I remarked also, with a very sensible concern, that, among the white inhabitants, there was not one countenance that was enlivened with the glow of health; they were all pale or yellow, and wore the appearance of having just recovered from

some severe malady. What a climate! I exclaimed to myself: if those who are natives, and who have lived here so long, and without compulsion, seem to be in such wretched health, what must they expect who are conducted thither at fifty years of age, and in a state of proscription?—My affliction, however, was greatly aggravated, when I perceived that we were transferred to a guard of blacks, with bayonets fixed, who conducted us to a place of security. I had flattered myself that, being arrived at the place of our exile, I should possess my liberty.

The house where we were confined, although in a very ruinous state, had the air of a palace when compared with the frigate which we had quitted. I was conducted into a spacious chamber, where we were not tumbled upon one another, and as, according to the custom of the country, our apartment was open to every wind, we could breathe, at least, at our ease. The military rations were distributed to us; at the same time we were allowed to have what we pleased, on paying for it; and it was not assuredly to salt meat that I gave the preference. I lived upon

fish, rice, and fruits, and procured whatever had a tendency to cool my blood, heated as it was by a state of extreme inconvenience, by bad nourishment, by the heat of the climate, and, above all, by the afflictions of my mind. A calm conscience and a firm character will do great things; but there are trials which they can scarce resist.

We were no sooner arrived, than the inhabitants of Cayenne were eager to give us all possible succour. They sent us every kind of fruit; and being informed that several of us had lost our effects when we were pillaged on board la Charente, and that others had only winter cloathing, they sent us a considerable quantity of linen, and dresses suited to the country. We never had recourse to their kindness in vain. In short, it was a matter of emulation among them to oblige us; and when we were afterwards permitted to lodge in the houses of the inhabitants, they gave us every possible accommodation, and in many instances free of expence. Their conduct was still more meritorious, as, since freedom had been given to the negroes, very few of the colonists were in a condition to exercise generosity. The far greater part of them had been ruined by the revolution.

Generous inhabitants of Cayenne, you have not fulfilled the views of the Directory, in distinguishing us from the galley slaves with whom it had associated us. You have not yielded to the insinuations and menaces of the agents of government, who strove, in vain, to turn aside the course of your benevolence. You considered us as honourable exiles, and have courageously obeyed the impulse of your hearts.—May the expressions of my gratitude, may the blessings of our families, may the wishes of all good men whom your conduct has filled with admiration, reach your distant abode, and convey to you the most delightful recompence that the mind of man can receive.

The commissary of the Directory in the administration of this department, the commanding officer of the armed force, and the principal officer of health, came to take our names and descriptions. It is not only in Europe that I have been obstinately called Job Aymé, the same error has passed the seas, and was established at Cayenne. I, certainly, did not suspect that I was such a distinguished personage. It was in vain that I called myself Jean Jacques, for I was

positively assured that it was Job ; and, in some respects, the name would not have been misapplied. The journals were brought to confound me, by the proofs that they afforded of my being called Job. I was however, so stubborn, as to refuse my assent to that authority. At length, however, the matter was accommodated, by writing me Jean-Jacques Aymé, commonly called Job Aymé ; and this noble and ingenious arrangement concluded the contest. I remember that, during this grave discussion, the commandant Desvieux said to me ;—" what can it signify whether you are called Job or Jean-Jacques, are you not the person involved in the sentence of proscription ?"—" Yes, I replied, I am he ; but it is of importance for me to be registered under my real name, in a proceeding that receives the sanction of the supreme authorities. It is, indeed, of the utmost consequence, if the register of my death should be transmitted to my family, that it should not bear a fictitious name, which would greatly embarrass them."—" Are you then afraid of dying ?"—" No ; if I had been troubled by that apprehension, I should not be here ; but have submitted myself, with so many contempt-

ible characters, to be the vile agent of men in power, and you would not have taken my description."—Desvieux held down his head and was silent. I have since been informed that he was a very weak man, and basely submissive to the will and the caprices of the agent of government.

This agent was Jeannet Dudin. He was born at Arcis-sur-Aube. Danton, his relation, had sent him to Cayenne as a civil commissary in the period of his omnipotence. When this great revolutionist had reaped the fruits of his principles, Jeannet was alarmed, and flew for safety to the United States; but when Robespierre had, in his turn, paid the debt due to his crimes, Jeannet returned to Cayenne; and had the art to preserve his credit, both with the Committee of Public Safety, and the Directory. He possesses a large share of cunning, and has neither principles or manners; caring as little for republicanism as for royalty, and considering nothing but his pleasure and his interest. He is addicted in an high degree, to every kind of profligacy; and as he possesses a very strong constitution, he indulged himself in every kind of excess, without the least reserve, decorum, or sense of shame; and,

which is very surprising, without any perceptible effect on his health. But his principal object is to create a large fortune, and he employs the most simple and ready means to insure success. I have been assured by persons whose veracity is unquestionable, that he appropriates to himself the produce of all the buildings belonging to the government; and all the inhabitants to whom I have addressed myself on the subject, have unanimously declared, that he turns to his own emolument all the prizes which are made by ships in the service of the republic. Nor is this all, for he, at the same time, seizes on most of the neutral vessels, or such as belong to countries in alliance with France, which are found in these seas, or, trusting to the good faith of the government, enter into the port of Cayenne. He was in short a complete pirate, though, to conceal his infamous practices, he assumed the appearance of acting according to form and usage. Jacquart, a judicial commissary, having given judgement against the validity of a prize, he dismissed him from his office.—On another occasion, he made himself very merry at the expense of a judge who opposed his conscience, to the orders which he

he had received from him. When a prize was taken, or that he made a seizure of a ship in the port, he ordered every thing he wished to possess himself, to be brought to him, and contented himself with taking a vague inventory of whatever remained. He, nevertheless, continued to take out of the public magazine, every thing which caught his fancy, and was by no means displeased, when his subordinate officers followed his example. It was a favourite pleasantry with him to conjugate the verb *to rob*,—as *I rob*, *thou robbest*, *he robs*, *we rob*, &c.; and as he was supported by debauchees of every kind, and robbers of every description; as his thefts of the property of the republic, rendered it needless for him to distress or lay impositions on the inhabitants; as his demeanour was affable, and he was always accessible to those who had any business to transact with him, (except the exiles, towards whom he conducted himself with a savage spirit, which he was not supposed to possess,) when he quitted Cayenne, he carried with him the money and the regrets of the colony:—regrets which were justified by the conduct of his successor Burnel. After his departure, the electoral as-

sembly of the most extensive department of the republic, composed of sixteen individuals *, named him to be a member of the legislative body. He is at this time agent at Guadeloupe, and will laugh heartily at his portrait, if this volume should fall into his hands.—Such, however, was the man, whom fortune had made the master of our destiny.

It will be readily imagined, that, from such a personage, men, exiled by the government which he served, had no reason to expect any favourable attentions. He had shewn but little regard to the first exiles, whom he had banished to Sinamary. " They are," as he expressed himself to Noyer his physician, " they are very worthy " people, and very fit to be employed in other " times; but, in the present, they are of no use " whatever. Besides, they were very much in

* This account has the appearance of a contradiction: Nevertheless, it is strictly true, that the department of French Guiana, is much larger than all France; and that its population is so confined, as to admit of no more than sixteen persons to compose its electoral assembly, in which are comprised the mulattoes and blacks, who, as it is well known, have acquired the rank of citizens.

" the wrong, for not getting the upper hand. As " a private individual, I feel no ill will towards " them; but as agent of the Directory, who did " not send them here for their amusement, I can- " not spare them."—And he fulfilled his declaration. " *Ramel's Narrative*" has detailed his cruel proceedings towards them. It is said, indeed, that he has contradicted the greatest part of these accusations, in a publication, which he caused to be distributed previous to his departure for Guadeloupe: but he cannot contradict his own correspondence, which I shall hereafter transcribe, and by which he must be judged. With respect to us, we were guarded, according to his direction, by an armed force, in the house which has been already mentioned. We were permitted to walk out for two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening; but under an escort of negroes with bayonets fixed, and in a very confined place; and all strangers were expressly prohibited from entering it. Our names were regularly called over twice a-day, and all persons were forbidden to visit us, but by special permission.

A very different conduct was observed with respect to Collot d'Herbois and Billaud de Va-

rennes. The Directory, by its order of the 4th Brumaire in the year 4, instructed the agents of government to " let them enjoy full liberty in " Guiana :" and this expression was interpreted in all its latitude ; that is to say, that the town and island of Cayenne being considered as a part of Guiana, they were to be permitted to go where they pleased from the moment they had disembarked. They were not only free from the attendance of an armed escort ; but it was enjoined to all the officers in their turn, to accompany them in their walks, and to point out to them and explain such objects as were worthy of their curiosity. One of them indeed, and but one, had the courage to disobey this humiliating injunction. He declared that he was not formed to be the companion of men who had been the executioners of his fellow-citizens.—Government assigned each of them a pension of fifteen hundred livres, with which they would be enabled to satisfy their wants. Tired with their residence at Cayenne, they went into the country, where they fell sick. They were accordingly taken to the hospital, and Collot died. The good sisters having demanded of Billaud what was the

religion of his friend, in order to regulate the ceremonial of his interment—" I knew nothing " of that man," he answered, " previous to the " Convention; but I believe that he had no re- " ligion whatever."—Billaud recovered, and was afterwards removed to Sinamary, and, some time after, to a situation not very distant from the island of Cayenne.

It is well known that the exiles of la Vaillante were treated rather like us than as Collot and Billaud. They were confined to the hospital, had a guard placed over them, and were not suffered to have any communication with the inhabitants, but in consequence of a special permission.

The reason which Jeannet assigned for his conduct on this occasion, appears in his letter of the 11th Frimaire to the minister of the colonies. —" I regulate myself by your dispatch of the " 19th Fructidor, and by the article of the pe- " nal code, which deprives the exiles of the " rights of citizenship, in conformity to the " constitution. The free exercise of the rights " of citizenship," he adds, by way of merriment, " was the grand pretention of Tronçon du

" Coudray."—Wretch that thou art, wherefore is the man who conferred honour on the character of citizen by his superior talents, in the same proportion as you disgrace it by your debauchery, your rapine, your persecution and your baseness —wherefore, I say, should he be deprived of that pretention? Who was it that robbed him of that distinction? You speak of the penal code and of the constitution. Shew me, therefore, in that code, and in that constitution, the articles which deprive men of the rights of citizens who have neither been accused or judged. Unfold the volume that contains them, and you will find, in every page, that chains and fetters are the punishment of those who are guilty of arbitrary imprisonment;—and in what does that crime consist, but in a wicked attempt, without mandate and without authority, to violate the liberty of citizens, of which you have been guilty respecting the exiles.

I shall not detail the manner in which Pichegru, Barthélemy, and their unfortunate companions, were treated at Sinamary. I shall confine myself to the letter which Boucher, who was

commissioned to establish them there, wrote to the agent, Jeannet, on the 10th Frimaire.

" I have found the place rather confined, but " tolerably convenient, by means of the church, " which will serve as a work-shop, a promenade, " and an eating-room. But they break forth " in murmurs, and exclaim, that the place is un- " healthy, and that they shall soon die. To " such observations, I have nothing to oppose " but silence and the execution of my instruc- " tions.—These men, indeed, are very unreason- " able : but misfortune has soured their tempers ; " and reason does not lead them back to the prin- " ciples of equality, which would teach them " to blend their miseries with those alleviations " that you procure for them.—I have ordered " that one candle should be allowed for the " chamber of each party ; and I want a suffi- " cient quantity to deliver them by the pound to " such as will pay for them.—Murinais appeared " this morning with his coat buttoned over his " body, being obliged to remain without linen " while the little he has was washing.—Water is " so scarce and so bad, that it will be rendering

" them a great service to procure jars for the pu-
" rification of it: which they will receive as a
" benefaction."

Such was the treatment of men, the greater part of whom were brought up in the enjoyment of every convenience of life, according to the avowal of a person employed by the government, the representatives of the people, and the Directory. They were banished to a solitary spot, where one room alone was allotted for their exercise and their repast, where no more than one candle was allowed for each party; where there was a scarcity of water, and the small quantity they could procure, of the worst kind.—Such was the situation to which they were reduced.—" Murinais appeared this morn-
" ing with his coat buttoned over his body,
" being obliged to remain without linen while
" the little he has was washing"!—This old man, respectable for his military services, and those virtues which beamed forth in all the splendour of intellectual beauty, when he exclaimed, on the brink of the grave: " *I had rather die at Sina-*

mary

mary without reproach, than live, in the midst of crimes, at Paris;"* against whom, the very men who banished him were not able to produce the shadow of suspicion;—this excellent man, I say, had not a shirt to cover his body: and the barbarians who treated him with such wanton cruelty dare to speak of *humanity*, and claim the merit of administering alleviations;—but of what kind were they? †

But it is not alone in the letter of a subordinate officer, that we find proofs of the solitude and unwholesomeness of Sinamary, of the bad quality of the waters, and of the distressed situation of the deported. All these facts are attested by

* See *Secret Anecdotes*, page 86.

† In the fifth volume of the works of Madame de Sévigné, and in that part where mention is made of the punishment of de la Voisin, who was condemned to be burned, are the following expressions.—'A judge to whom my 'son expressed his surprise that the criminal should be 'burned by so small a fire, replied: "Ah! Sir, there are "certain *adoucissemens* on account of the weakness of the "sex."—"What! Sir, do they strangle them?"—"No; "they throw firebrands on their heads, and the executioner's "attendants tear off their sculls with iron hooks," &c.

Jeannet himself, in a letter written by him to the minister of the colonies on the 11th of Nivôse. " I must entertain you," says he, " with the installation of the deported at Sinamary, their remonstrances against that situation, and the plan to be pursued relative to their final establishment. Those who have signed them speak in strong terms of the unwholesomeness of the country, and of the ruin and despair of the inhabibitants. It is possible, indeed, that the waters may continue awhile in their channels, and that this may cause a transient change in the purity of the air. It is even true, that during a part of the year the water is not so sweet as at Cayenne, but the inhabitants have a method of purifying it.

" In lieu of the shores of Conanama, the engineers have fixed on those of Sinamary. If I adhere strictly to your letter, citizen minister, of the 20th Fructidor, the advances will be confined to some cattle and implements of husbandry, hunting, and fishing, the whole expence of which will amount to 2,133 livres. The deported will then have to provide themselves with lodging, and to procure labourers by hiring them from time to time, and paying them certain wages; but even admitting that they had the

pecuniary means, *what negro would quit a peopled canton, to go and insulate themselves with these men?*

" It must be confessed, that such persons as have been sent hither into deportation, are neither inclined nor qualified for the species of labour which seemed to be expected from them. But, on the other hand, *it is politic not to suffer them to remain among the citizens, of whom they have ceased to form a part, and to keep them sufficiently insulated to prevent their causing any disturbance to the government.*" &c.

What artifice! what perfidy! what barbarity does this letter contain! with what levity does he pass over the unwholesomeness of this district, and the badness of the water! " *It is possible,*" says he, " that the waters may continue awhile in their channels." He knew well that the fact was positively true, and that it produced, not a *transient*, but a *permanent* change in the purity of the air; and that the inhabitants had no methods of purification. With what parsimony does he estimate the expenses to be incurred for the establishment and subsistence of sixteen persons, whose sequestered property amounted to

considerable sums: to this he appropriated 2,133 livres, equal to little more than 1,500 livres of France; that is to say, less than 100 livres * to each of the deported. With what inhumanity does he insinuate, that it is of importance to the tranquillity of the government to keep them insulated, in order to deprive them of all communication with the good inhabitants of Cayenne! But no; he feared not that such men would disturb the tranquillity of the colony; he only feared that we should receive relief and consolation from their kindness.

Murinais was dead, Trançon du Coudray dying, and Lafond-Ladébat in a state of convalescence, when eight of them, impressed with the danger of a longer stay at Sinamary, formed a scheme of escaping to Surinam, in which they vainly endeavoured to associate Barbé-Marbois, who was of opinion, that it is not right to escape even from a prison where we are unjustly detained. As to Lafond-Ladébat, they knew that he was resolved never to fly; a resolution which he had declared on his arrival.

* About £4 sterling.

It is well known that their scheme succeeded, and it is well known also, that Jeannet, who was extremely enraged at their departure, took the most vigorous measures with the governor of Surinam to recover his prey. The following is part of a letter he wrote on this subject, in which, having expressed his dissatisfaction that the fugitives were not arrested, he adds, "It is unfortunate that the search made for them has hitherto proved ineffectual. Perhaps the measures taken to prevent their escape from Paramaribo may prove more successful. I send you the list and description of all the deported who have arrived, as well by the corvette la Vaillante, as by the frigate la Décade; and I recommend your having them translated into Dutch, and sent to all the military posts and corps-de-garde under your command, with an injunction to arrest, and hold at the disposition of the French government, every individual answering to these descriptions, and in general every person coming from Cayenne without passport."

Certainly it is not easy to imagine greater zeal or more precaution than Jeannet employed in watching the deported. This man would make

an excellent gendarme, an excellent jailer, an excellent ———. But what degraded beings exist in nature! How is it possible for men to persecute with so much ferocity those who never injured them, and whom they know to be innocent. In fact, Jeannet was desirous of retaining his place, and of pleasing the tyrants who had given it him; and we shall soon perceive with what baseness he expressed himself when speaking of them.

His letter to the minister, of the 11th Nivôse, was conveyed by the corvette la Vaillante, which had brought over the first party of the deported, and gave occasion to the following reply, which was brought by the commander of la Décade.

" I have communicated to the Directory the various remonstrances which the deported have addressed to you, and the report made to you relative to the lands four or five leagues up the river of Sinamary, which the engineers have deemed a proper place for the intended establishment.

" In instructing you by my letter of the 20th Fructidor, to give each of the deported twenty acres of land, I did not desire you to make these establishments at the expense of the republic,

the Directory being alone authorized by the law of the 19th Fructidor, provisionally to procure for the deported, out of their property, the means of supplying their most urgent wants. In pointing out to you the establishment of a town or hamlet, in which cottages might be built, I did not mean that these twenty acres should be in the village itself, but situated exteriorly; the town being to consist of lots, including a cottage, a court, a fowl-yard, and a small garden. As to the plantations, they are to be made at their own expense, should they form a taste for this pursuit; and you will procure them all the facilities humanity demands. I am of opinion that Conanama, and the lands six hundred toises* in front, are adapted to this town, and thither the deported who have already arrived will retire, as well as those who will in future be sent to you, whose talents and inclinations may not dispose them for agriculture or commerce. By giving, for example, to each a breadth of ten toises, and about twenty in depth, a great number may be settled, and that upon a regular plan. This si-

* Equal to a fathom, or six feet.

tuation is better adapted for the purpose than that pointed out by the engineers, because it is nearer to places already inhabited ; and therefore the deported, who become its inhabitants, will find more opportunities for trading, and for the sale of their produce.

" The Directory authorizes you to take such measures as you may think proper relative to the requests of the deported ; but still retaining the means of employing the necessary diligence to prevent their escaping, or doing any mischief. You may, therefore, permit them to form agricultural and commercial establishments in all parts of the colony, except its capital and the Isle of Cayenne, which are specially excepted by the Directory."

This letter proves that the minister knew very little of the colony of Cayenne, or he would have been perfectly at ease relative to the lands to be allotted to the deported ; nor would he have confined them within the narrow space of ten or twenty toises. Neither would he have feared that the interests of the republic would have been injured, had he known that the whole canton of Conanama, with its six hundred toises

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in front, and sixty thousand in depth, could not have been sold for half a crown. Land is of no value in the uninhabited parts of the colony; for such Conanama then was; and even in the inhabited parts the inhabitants are but very thinly scattered. Previous to the revolution, land was estimated relatively to the negroes that cultivated it; but at Conanama there were neither settlements nor negroes.

As to agricultural and commercial establishments, the minister was equally uninformed. In the first place, in these burning climates the labours of agriculture cannot be performed by Europeans. "Those of the whites who work least and take most care of themselves," said Jeannet in his letter of the 3d Messidor, "visibly degenerate under the torrid zone; but he who braves the sun, and dares to work as he would in Europe, pays with his life for his ignorance and his courage." Thus negroes are, in fact, necessary; but how are they to be procured, since that trade exists no more?

The only resource, then, that remained, was to hire a plantation, and acquire an influence with the negroes settled upon it; and who, by a

particular regulation, are subjected to a specific quantity of work. But if the planters already established, and who not only knew these negroes well, but spoke their language, find great difficulty in making them work, how should persons in our situation be able to influence them, when entirely ignorant of their manners and customs, and unable to make them understand us? and who, besides, have been represented to them as men punished by the government for endeavouring to restore the blacks to slavery; for this perfidious charge was constantly insinuated against us by the agent of the Directory and his confidential servants. And further, if in the daily disputes which arise between them and their masters, this agent, who is the sole judge, generally decides in their favour, what justice could, in such cases, be expected by men whom he considered as *having ceased to form a part of the citizens*; and whom he made it his business to persecute?

Thus this permission to form agricultural establishments became a mere illusion; as was also, in a still greater degree, that of entering into commercial arrangements; since we were prohi-

bited from inhabiting the island of Cayenne: for to that place alone do the ships which visit this colony come; to that place alone do the planters carry their produce; and at that place alone do they purchase the articles they want; consequently, at that place alone was the little commerce the colony possessed carried on. In every other part of the colony it would have been not only impossible, but ridiculous, to have attempted it. Nevertheless, these two permissions proved very beneficial to several of the deported, and to me in particular; for they favoured the formation of pretended arrangements, into which the planters eagerly entered, in order to rescue us from our unhappy situation.

Two principal objects resulted from this letter of the minister; first, that those of the deported who were desirous of making agricultural or commercial establishments might settle in whatever part of French Guiana they might choose, except the town and island of Cayenne; and second, that the rest should be sent to *Conanama*. But Jeannet, thinking that place, no doubt, not sufficiently unwholesome, and being particularly unwilling that the deported should have an op

portunity of procuring the means of subsistence, or of communicating with the inhabitants, wrote to the minister of marine, on the 11th Messidor, as follows :—" Your letter of 25th Ventôse prescribes to me to exercise the necessary vigilance over the deported, to prevent their escaping or doing any mischief. *If they are settled at Conanama, if they have liberty to communicate with the citizens, to hunt, to fish, and to form agricultural and commercial settlements in various parts of the continent,* and all these are the immediate consequences of the orders I have received, I must declare to you, that I know no means of preventing them *from influencing the minds of the inhabitants as they please, exciting an alarm among the negroes for their liberty, or stirring them up by means of superstition ; and, in short, from intriguing against the public order and tranquillity, whether for themselves or in favour of foreign powers ; and thus greatly endangering the security both of persons and of property.*"

In this last sentence we may discover the style and manner of Fouquier-Tinville, one of whose acts of accusation we seem to be reading. Jeannet might indeed have become his substitute.

Can any thing be more atrocious than these observations? Vexed and disappointed, that some of the deported were allowed to communicate with the inhabitants, to hunt, fish, and procure themselves subsistence; this tyger exaggerated every thing that might alarm a jealous government, and induce them to deprive us of these powers. But what his object really was, the remainder of his letter will explain. It was as follows:

"With regard to the mode of putting the deportation to Guiana in force, I remember an order of the ci-devant colonial assembly, and some observations of Pomme. In these two papers, the place of deportation is fixed *to the windward, and at a very great distance from the capital*; *and in both, all communication between the deported and the interior of the colony, is prohibited under the severest penalties.* I THINK MYSELF, that if these measures are not fully adequate to prevent the escape of the deported, *they would at least be useful in securing the tranquillity of the interior.*"

If the reader is desirous to know the place thus loosely hinted at by Jeannet, it was the limits of French Guiana, near the river of the

Amazons and the Portugueze territory; a place still more unwholesome than *Conanama*, and an absolutely abandoned desert; in a word, it was *Vincent Pinçon*. Under the reign of Burnel there was a plan of an insurrection of mulattoes which did not turn out as he intended, and he condemned two of them by his own authority to be deported to the place now intended for us by Jeannet. These men were sent thither, but were afterwards brought back, and Burnel wrote to the minister on the 25th Germinal, giving an account of this event as follows: " *Vincent Pinçon* is entirely devastated. Two deported men, Mayeul and Télémaque were unable to land there." Yet this was the place where Jeannet was desirous to send us.

Yes, worthy inhabitants of Cayenne! Ye who know the localities of your colony! Ye who have been the dupes of the pretended moderation of Jeannet! Ye who have so often said to me, this man is not bad at heart, and if he sometimes appears severe, 'tis because he is instigated by Edme Mauduit his secretary, learn that Jeannet was no better, and judge of him by his actions. Yes, 'tis Jeannet that calumniated us with the govern-

ment, in order to procure an authority for sending us to the deserts of *Vincent Pinçon*, where there are no means of subsistence or of communication with mankind. He well knew that not one of us would have been alive a week after our arrival, and this was the object of his wishes. Yes, it was his wish that not an individual should remain to give evidence of his inhumanity.

Nor imagine that this cruel project was the mere offspring of an evil moment, he had well digested and reflected upon it, and constantly persevered in it; for in another letter he complained much of being clogged and embarrassed by superior orders in his conduct toward the deported. " If, said he, the government had thought proper to have said to me on the 18th Fructidor: You will receive the deported and prevent them from escaping or doing any mischief; you will take care *that they be made to provide for themselves* as soon as possible, &c. if they had left me free as to the means employed; I should have adopted all such, as appeared to me proper to accomplish the object proposed; *I should have done every thing in the world to shew myself worthy of the confidence of the Directory.*—

But another mode of conduct has been pursued. I respect the motives of the government, and I *think myself no less bound to obey them at the risk of my whole self**." Can any one deny, after reading these expressions, that the most cruel men are ever the basest and most cringing?

* We have seen throughout the revolution but too many degraded beings, who hold themselves *bound to obey, at the risk of their whole selves* (au prix de tout eux-mêmes), the vile and ferocious tyrants, who commanded them to pillage, imprison, and assassinate; though, in other equally calamitous times, men have been found, who have not piqued themselves on so criminal an obedience. The noble reply of D'Aspremont, viscount of Orthe, governor of Bayonne, to Charles IX., who had given him some sanguinary orders at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, is well known. "*Sire*," said he, "*I have communicated your majesty's commands to your faithful inhabitants and soldiers of the garrison, but I have met with none but good citizens and brave soldiers; and not one executioner.*" Le Veneur Detillières, Montmorin of Saint-Herent, Detende, Degordes of the house of Simiane, Montmorenci, Matignon, Villars, Decursai, Laguiche, De Rieux, Bouillé, and many others, all replied to the king, "*that they were ready to die for him; but that they would never assassinate any one for his service.*" See Mainbourg de Thou, vol. 6. in 4to. or 5 in fol. Chorier's Hist. du Dauphiné, fol. vol. 2. and Saint Foy's Hist. de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit, vol. 1.

It was at the solicitation of the families of the persons first deported, that the government had granted permission to make agricultural and commercial establishments throughout Guiana, excepting in the island of Cayenne: and of this illusory permission, which offered no other advantage than the avoiding the fetid marshes of Conanama, they made the greatest possible parade in their journals. Nothing could now be happier than the deported! They were about to become great merchants and rich planters, and their lot, if these representations could be credited, would be truly enviable! Nevertheless, as I have already shown, they could neither trade nor cultivate land; nor in fact do I know one of the deported, who really carried on any commerce. Five or six of those, who went over with me, entered into a partnership, which was broken off in less than two months, and could not have continued longer; and as to agriculture, I knew two partnerships formed by three priests, and situated on bad plantations, the largest of which cost 900 livres. These new planters confined themselves to labouring, not for the production of articles of commerce, but to procure manioc, Indian corn,

bananas and fruit. I also knew a priest who actually cultivated a plantation nearly similar; but he had incessant broils with his negroes, and dissipated the little money he brought with him. These establishments were treated with very little ceremony by the agent of the Directory; for, as will be seen hereafter, he caused these persons to be taken away to a distance of five-and-twenty leagues. Besides, they were extremely straitened and confined there, since, towards the end of their stay, they were no longer permitted to quit their plantations.

Compelled to obey the orders he had received, which authorized these establishments, Jeannet endeavoured to shackle them as much as possible. On the one hand, he said, and caused it to be circulated among the inhabitants, that he did not imagine any of them could be so imprudent as to enter into any commercial arrangements with men who were proscribed by the government; and on the other hand, he published the following order, under date of the 30th Prairial:

" Every one of the deported, who shall be " desirous of forming an agricultural or com- " mercial establishment in any part of the colo- " ny not exepted by the Executive Directory, " shall address a memorial to the departmental " administration, through the medium of the " commander in chief accompanied by a certifi- " cate from some land or house-owner, revised " by the municipality of the canton of the said " land or house-owner, shewing that the memo- " rialist is in treaty for buying or renting a " plantation or house, and that he has adequate " means to work the plantation or to carry on " trade. The departmental administration shall " investigate the facts set forth in the certifi- " cate given in support of the memorial, which " they shall afterwards forward, together with " their opinion and the reasons on which the " same is founded, to the agent of the Execu- " tive Directory, that the latter *may form, upon* " *the whole, such determinations as may thereunto* " *appertain.*"

Through how many steps and gradations then was it necessary to pass before any establishment

could be formed? In the state of detention in which we were, prohibited from communing with any one but by special permission, how could we find a land or house-owner willing to treat with us, obtain from him a certificate that we were in treaty to hire or to purchase, &c., procure from the municipality of the canton the necessary formalities relative to revising the certificate, and a favourable report from the departmental administration? Yet all these preliminary steps and formalities would have proved wholly vain and nugatory should it not be the good pleasure of the agent of the Executive Directory ultimately to give his consent: in which case, we were in no wise the least advanced in obtaining the permission granted to us by the government. The owners of land and houses, and the municipal and departmental administrations, were well disposed towards us; but, more fortunately still, the agent determined that all those who should so settle themselves should receive no aids from the government. This indeed was the circumstance that favoured us the most; for otherwise it is probable he would have been extreme-

ly scrupulous in giving his consent, and that it would in general have been refused.

A few days after the publication of this order, M. Berthollon, a merchant settled at Cayenne, to whom I was a stranger, obtained permission to come and visit me. "We are from the same "province," said he, "and I know both who "you are and the cause of your being here. I "am come to offer you my purse and a place "upon my plantation. For though my esta- "blishment is but very inconsiderable, yet it "will save you from the horrors of Conanama, "where you would not live three months. But, "however, you *must* accept it, for then you will "be at no great distance from Cayenne, and I "hope you will disappoint the wishes of your "executioners."—Tears of gratitude were the only reply I could make. "'Tis not to affect "you," replied he, "that I am come; you must "give me your word that you will accept my "offer, and procure me the honour of being the "first inhabitant of Cayenne, who has given an "asylum to one of the deported." It may be easily conceived that I did not refuse his kindness. M. Berthollon therefore immediately sent for a

notary, and gave me a lease of his plantation. On my informing him of the certificate required by the order of the agent, he immediately hastened to procure the revision of it by the municipality. " Come," said he, " now for your peti- " tion to the departmental administration." I instantly wrote it, and he took it away with him, obtained a favourable report, and ran to the agent and procured his approbation ; I slept that night at his house, and was the next day settled on his plantation.

Generous Berthollon ! to you I am indebted for the preservation of my life, and for my rescue from Conanama. Yes, it was your example that encouraged many other inhabitants to do the like ; for though perhaps equally well intentioned, they were somewhat more timid in venturing on acts of kindness that were inimical to the government. Yes, you have never ceased to lavish your beneficence on the deported. And with you I ultimately returned to Europe. Ah ! why did that voyage produce to you such cruel consequences ? Ah ! why am I not enabled to soften and mitigate your fate ? Ah ! why am I unable to inspire the placemen of my country,

who can neither be insensible to your misfortunes or your generosity, with those sentiments of gratitude with which you have filled my soul.

Gibert-Desmolières had been recommended to Couturier, one of the most worthy men of the colony. But as his plantation was too far from Cayenne to place him there, he procured him one at a smaller distance. Many others followed these examples, and in a few days a great number of the deported were settled on various plantations. I shall presently describe in what manner I lived upon mine; but I must first speak of those who were so unfortunate as to be removed to Conanama.

Jeannet sent some men to construct huts in that canton with the greatest haste. These huts were formed of large stakes fixed in the earth, across which laths were fastened, and roofed with branches of trees. To these stakes a hammock was attached; but there were neither chairs, tables, nor any other furniture; and the officer appointed to execute these orders, said publickly at his return to Cayenne: "Cona-" nama will be the tomb of most of these unfor-" tunate men, and it would be less inhuman to

" shoot them at once; for they would then be " spared a long and tedious agony." But this did not prevent Jeannet from sending off the deported who remained at Cayenne, except those who were in the hospital, or who staid there in order to settle, on board some schooners, and they were all installed at Conanama in these fatal huts, where they were not long before they found a grave.

Although the letter of the minister was conceived in such terms as to infer that the deported who had arrived by la Décade, and those who should arrive afterwards, (should none of them form the establishments permitted,) would be the only persons settled at Conanama; and although this arrangement seemed entirely foreign to the deported already settled at Sinamary, (no mention being made of them); and although his silence alone would render it at least doubtful with regard to them, Jeannet was no less determined to include them in this arrangement. These men were now reduced to a very small number; for the departure of their comrades was soon followed by the death of Tronçon du Coudray, Bourdon de l'Oise, and la Villeheurnois,

of

of whom the two former expired on one day, namely, the 4th Messidor, and the latter on the 10th Thermidor.

Tronçon du Coudray had in vain solicited to be removed to Cayenne, in order to have the medical advice that place afforded. He had written to Jeannet in the following terms: "I address myself to you, because it is impossible, that, when you know my situation, you will deny me your permission to come to Cayenne. Your refusal would throw me into despair and prove my death-blow." Jeannet however had the cruelty to refuse him, and Tronçon du Coudray died. He had behaved with more humanity to Collot d'Herbois and Billaud de Varennes, whom he had not prevented from coming to the hospital; but these men had, it seems, a claim to his preference.

When Jeannet heard that the mortality had commenced at Conanama, he wrote to the commissary on the 9th Fructidor, "You will have the goodness, citizens, to understand with the commander in chief, in order that it may be notified to these individuals, (the deported of Sinamary,) that if by the 26th of this month

tney do not give proof of being in treaty to settle in Guiana, conformably to the decree of the 30th Prairial, they will then be escorted by an armed force to Conanama, and put on the same footing as the deported now there; *which shall be executed.* In consequence of this arrangement, every expense relative to the deported must cease on the first of Vendémiaire next."

This notification had a great effect on Barbé-Marbois, Lafond-Ladébat, Rovère, and Brothier, who alone remained of the first deportation. For although they were in a very bad situation at Sinamary, they knew that Conanama was still worse. They heard daily accounts of the horrid condition of the unfortunate men who were placed there, and they dreaded nothing so much as being sent to join them. Brothier was so strongly impressed with this fear, that he died on the 26th, the day fixed for his removal. Rovère had made some arrangements with one of the inhabitants, which brought him near Cayenne, where he every moment expected the arrival of his wife, having been informed of her departure to join him. But he was unable to put his scheme in execution; for he was so ill when he

was put on board, that it became necessary to carry him again on shore,—where he expired!

Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladébat settled themselves at Sinamary. And what an awful situation was this! They alone of all those deported with them now remained, and they could scarcely take a step without walking over the tombs of their companions in misfortune.

Meanwhile death was exercising the most horrid ravages at Conanama, and daily seized new victims. Several of the deported were already dead, and the rest very ill; even the military commanders, the commissaries, &c. though infinitely better treated than the deported, were also taken ill, and being alarmed for their lives, requested they might be relieved. No one however would take their place, and Jeannet, who was embarrassed at these circumstances, sent some officers to investigate the real state of affairs. The report they drew up was as follows:

"We, the commander in chief, accompanied by citizen Chapel, captain of engineers, and Boucher, sub-chief of administration, went to Conanama, where we proceeded to the hospital, and verified, that of eighty-two deported person

brought to this post at the end of Thermidor, (about two months before,) twenty-six are dead of putrid disorders, fifty continue in the hospital, many of them dangerously ill, and none of the remainder perfectly well.

" This mortality is caused, first, by the water, which is muddy, and even impregnated with vitriol; secondly, by the putrid exhalations from the marshes that surround this post for above half a league; and, thirdly, by the ordure of the hospital, which remains in the marshes, which marshes cannot be drained. These causes cannot be obviated, and the whole station will in winter become a mere bog. The level of the huts is below the ground of the military post; they are ill constructed, and the roofs ready to fall. Communication is very difficult at all seasons. In summer there is too little water for ships at the mouth of the river, and in winter the coast is unnavigable on account of the heavy seas and the frequent currents. The land-communication can only be kept up on foot, and without baggage. Hence the military post would often run a risk of being in want of provisions, with which this uninhabited canton is wholly unfurnished.

Even the Indians have evacuated it on account of the badness of the air. The officers, soldiers, and delegates of administration, are in the most dreadful situation. There are no fresh provisions, no fruit, and not even a lemon to correct the bad quality of the water. These imperious reasons induce us to think, that this post ought to be transferred to Sinamary, which is between four and five leagues distant."

Cayenne, 1 Brumaire, year VII.

DESVIEUX,
BOUCHER,
(Signed) CHAPEL.

This report requires no comment. What feeling mind can reflect upon it for a moment without shedding a tear over the wretched fate of the unfortunate exiles at Conanama! But who could imagine, that while they were sinking in the agonies of death, the governors were filling their journals with the most consolatory details relative to their condition and situation? Can it be imagined that men, who are feasting on the torture of their victims, should still attempt to maintain an appearance of humanity?

Ye, who have just read the report relative to

Conanama, drawn up upon the spot by officers appointed by the government, and who are liable to no suspicion of falsehood, read the following article in the Moniteur, N°. 84, dated 24 Frimaire, of the year VII, as an extract from the *Journal de Paris :*

Of the Deported at Guiana.

" Since the injunction to all persons condemned to deportation, and who have hitherto eluded their sentence, to present themselves within two months, to receive orders for their departure, and notice of the place to which they will be sent, the public seem to direct their attention with some anxiety towards Guiana, and every traveller is interrogated relative to that settlement, and the situation of those whom *the laws* have banished thither.

" Their situation is doubtless not free from rigour. They live at a distance from the scenes that have witnessed their entrance into existence, from their relations, and from all the objects that contributed to form their domestic felicity : but these are the very circumstances that constitute the punishment of deportation, and they are only

undergoing that punishment. Meanwhile nothing has been refused them that could alleviate their condition ! !

" In conformity to the orders of the agent of the Executive Directory, the commissary appointed to receive them has given them liberty to unite aud live together, and to hire private houses for that purpose. He has assigned them a space of about twenty leagues to range in ; has allotted to them, at the rate of an acre each, the lands most adapted for the formation of settlements ; and supplied them with provisions, linen, and all kinds of clothes. Hunting and fishing appeared to some of them useful sources of amusement ; and guns were immediately delivered to them, together with powder, shot, and all necessary implements ; and four Indians, who receive their daily allowance of provisions, have been appropriated to their service for both these purposes.

" If not only their wants but their convenience have thus been provided for, will it be believed that they can have been placed in situations which (as many persons constantly affect to repeat) must through their unwholesomeness become their graves ?

" One general observation should here be made, namely, that the climate of Guiana is not so unwholesome as is commonly supposed; and we shall cite, to that effect, the words of an old commissary of that colony, citizen Lescalier.

" Without entering into a long discussion," says he, p. 29 of a work he has just published, on the means of rendering that colony productive, and of conducting its administration; " it will perhaps suffice to assure the reader, from an experience of six years residence in Dutch Guiana and our own, that Guiana is, of all the colonies of America, the least prejudicial to the health of Europeans.—We often behold Europeans go to Guiana and stay there several years without experiencing any of those dreadful disorders to which they are subject in almost all other countries situated in the torrid zone. Europeans are particularly enabled to resist the effects of the climate, if they do but adopt a frugal mode of life analogous to that used in hot countries; and when emigrants die there, 'tis almost always their licentiousness and the use of strong liquors that destroy them; and not the unwholesomeness of the climate.—I will

venture

venture to declare," adds he, when speaking of the soil, " that Guiana contains very fine and fertile land for cultivation, and many sources of commerce, of industry, and of labour.

" Besides, 'tis in the most wholesome and fertile districts that the deported have been placed. They inhabit the banks of the river of Conanama between Sinamary and Iracombo." In order to make known the true state of this part of Guiana, we shall again recur to the work of citizen Lescalier.

" This part of Guiana," says he, p. 23, 24, and 25, " has always been considered as very wholesome, and as offering most resources to the little inhabitants and to traders. Game of all kinds abounds there, the sea and rivers are rich in fish. Fowls succeed well, cattle multiply fast, and the provisions of the country and cotton are advantageously cultivated. Materials for building are every where at hand, and the greater salubrity generally known to prevail in this part of Guiana, by all those who have frequented it, has in my opinion a very evident cause in the vast plains which nature has only

planted with herbs, and where the air circulates freely without being impregnated with vapours.

"What can be added to the testimony of a man who has long lived in that country, and administered its government? Among those, who accuse French Guiana of being unwholesome, some have an interest in doing so, and to those this testimony will have no weight; but it will convince all men of candid minds, who had only confused and inaccurate ideas of this vast colony, and who will remember, that the mild temperature of its climate once procured it the name of *Equinoxial France*."

I am unacquainted with Lescalier, and I can scarcely imagine he would designedly render himself the accomplice of the homicidal schemes of the Directory; but it is very unfortunate, that his work, which, as far as it relates to the deported, contains so many assertions contradicted by facts, should have appeared at the very time when some humane persons were raising their voices in their favour. But it would be inconceivable of any other men, than of those who were then in power, that they should suffer to be inserted in the public prints of which they

had the inspection and censorship, articles that presented so flattering a picture of the situation of the deported, at the very time when they had received accounts of the deaths of a great number of their victims.

It is not true that the agent of the Directory had assigned us a space of about twenty leagues to range in; for not only the country would not admit of excursions of that length, but I do not imagine that the deported of Conanama and Sinamary, who were under the superintendance of military posts, would have been allowed so great a latitude; and had this been permitted, it could have been of no use. They who were placed on private plantations were not permitted to pass the military posts. Some indeed ventured to pass them surreptitiously to visit their friends and acquaintances, and others obtained permissions from the mayors of their districts. Two of these last were pursued by the detachment of Terre-Rouge. Fortunately they were not informal; but it was afterwards doubtful whether they would be permitted to quit their plantations, and Burnel at length gave orders that they should not have that liberty. I have seen a copy

of the letter he wrote to that effect to the departmental administration. I have also learnt from one of the deported named Dulaurent, that having inquired of the agent of the Directory whether this order still continued, he received an answer in the affirmative.

It is not true that the agent had allotted, to each of the deported, an acre of the land most adapted for the formation of settlements. Never was such allotment made to those who arrived on board la Décade and la Bayonnaise. I believe, indeed, that, had the deported been willing to cultivate some vacant land, which no one else would care for, they would not have been prevented; but I have already mentioned and proved, by the words of Jeannet himself, that the burning soil of Guiana cannot be cultivated by whites. Bourdon de l'Oise, who had a robust constitution, was desirous of cultivating a small garden, and no doubt is entertained, that the labour he bestowed on it, contributed much to abridge his life.

It is not true that the agent caused provisions, linen, and all kinds of clothes, to be distributed to the deported, or, at the least, this assertion

requires great qualification. Those, who were settled on private plantations, did not participate in any distribution, whether of provisions or clothes. As for myself, neither me, nor any others of the same class, received the slightest aid from the government. Some of us had means of subsistence of our own, and others derived them from the beneficence of the inhabitants. And as to those who were at Conanama and Sinamary, the agent did not supply them any better with linen and clothes, but left them in this respect in the greatest distress. I admit that he did furnish them with provisions, but of what quality? They generally consisted of salt meat, and it must be remembered, that nothing was distributed to them but the worst of every kind.

It is not true that the agent caused guns to be delivered us, together with powder, shot, and the necessary implements for hunting and fishing. Some such delivery was made to the sixteen persons first deported, upon their several receipts, the value of which was to be taken out of their sequestered property; but as to all those who arrived afterwards, neither arms, nor ammunition, nor any implements of husbandry what-

ever, were given them. For how can it be imagined that Jeannet would put arms in the hands of men whom he considered as extremely dangerous; and who, according to him, might not only intrigue, whether for foreign powers or for themselves, against the public order and tranquillity, but further, might *greatly compromise the security of persons and of property?*

It is not true that Indians, to whom a regular allowance was given, were appropriated to the service of the deported, or, at least, this assertion also requires much qualification. I believe some were at first granted to the persons first deported; but this did not continue long. Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladébat, who remained alone, formed arrangements of their own, and did not make use of them. At Conanama, the sick at the hospital were atttended by the most hard-hearted negroes that could be found in the colony; and the reader will soon meet with a letter from the commandant of this post which will make him shudder with horror. As to those who lived in the huts, neither negroes nor Indians were employed to wait on them; and they were left to take care of themselves as well as they could.

Thus these hunter negroes, in fact, never had any existence, as far as regards the deported.

It is not true that Guiana is, of all the colonies in America, the least prejudicial to Europeans, or that they resist the effects of the climate if they do but live a frugal life. Certainly nothing could be more frugal than the life led by the deported; and he who should accuse them of intemperance or licentiousness, would be guilty of the most infamous of calumnies. Yet of the eight persons first deported who remained at Guiana, six died in less than three months; and of the three hundred and four brought by the frigate la Décade and the corvette la Bayonnaise, one hundred and sixty had fallen victims to the malignity of the climate, and to improper treatment, previous to the time of my escape.

Lastly, it is not true that Conanama is the wholesomest and most fertile place in the colony; that game, fish, fowls, and cattle abound, or that provisions, cotton, &c. are there cultivated. If all these assertions, the belief of which has produced such cruel consequences, are not wholly and absolutely false, they are, at least, excessively

exaggerated. Conanama is the most unwholesome and sterile place in the whole colony, except Vincent-Pinçon; it is that place where there are the least game and fish, where neither fowl nor cattle exist at all, and where there is neither manioc nor bananas, and not a single cotton plant. In a word, *it is an uninhabited district, destitute of provisions and of fruit, where there is not even a lemon to correct the badness of the water; and which even the Indians have evacuated on account of the air*, as was asserted in the above-recited report.

A comparison with this irrefutable document destroys all the impostures which the government have circulated, in order to stifle the remonstrances which humanity urged in our behalf; and in which they, unfortunately, but too well suceeded. Nor is it with mere argument that I attack these impostures, it is with an authentic document and notorious facts, relative to which I have no fear of being contradicted. But if these proofs are not sufficient, cast your eyes on the picture which terminates this work, and you will then be able to juge whether there be, upon the whole globe, another spot that offers so hor-

rid

rid a spectacle. Even countries ravaged by the plague never afforded so large a proportion of victims to mortality. Alas ! the Directory knew well what they were doing when they fixed on Guiana as the place of our deportation. They flattered themselves not one of us would escape ; and it was not without surprise, and the deepest regret, that our proscribers have now learnt, that of twelve deported representatives, only six are dead. The remaining six, however, have been extremely ill, and four of them only escaped death by flying from that destructive land.

But were these men more humane who, pretending to believe these directorial lies, told the wives of our colleagues who had avoided deportation, when they solicited bread for themselves and their children, " it is your husbands' fault, and you must starve. Why do they not go to Guiana, then the sequestration shall be taken off. Read Lescalier, read the journals, and you will perceive that Guiana is a very fine country, and especially Conanama. The deported want for nothing, and live comfortably :" yes, many

of them indeed want for nothing, for they are dead !

The Directory had just dispatched to the agent, *who did every thing in the world to prove himself worthy of their confidence, and who held himself bound to obey them at the risk of his whole self,* two more corvettes filled with deported persons. One of them was taken by the English, who exercised towards these unfortunate people the duties of the tenderest humanity ; and still supply them with the means of a comfortable subsistence. On board this vessel was Mad. Rovère. That courageous woman had quitted France, with her infant children, to share the misfortunes of a husband to whom she was indebted for the preservation of her life. In 1794 he had braved a thousand dangers to rescue her from the revolutionary tribunal, in the prisons of which she was then immured. The English treated her with all the tenderness due to misfortune, and supplied her with the means of coming to Cayenne. She first arrived at Barbadoes, whence she was to proceed to Surinam, and thence to Sinamary, had she not been prevented

by the news of her husband's death, which arrived at the moment of her departure. She is since returned to France, after long wandering over the surface of the ocean, and experiencing all the miseries of navigation. Her sensibility and zeal deserved a better fate. *

The other corvette, named la Bayonnaise, escaped. This vessel had sailed from Rochefort on the 20th Thermidor, in the year 6, with one hundred and twenty prisoners on board; among whom were some *chauffeurs*, as some galley convicts were placed among us, according to the mode of conduct adopted by the Directory. One of these prisoners was sent ashore, while the ship lay in the road, and expired before he arrived at Rochefort; eight more died during the voyage, which continued fifty-four days, and one hundred and eleven arrived in the road of Cayenne, almost all sick. Here they earnestly requested to be permitted to go on shore, but Jeannet would by no means consent. Some of them, however, at length obtained this impor-

* For further particulars relative to this interesting woman, see "*Secret Anecdotes*," page 47.

tant advantage, which was so necessary for them all; but eighty-eight remained a week in the road, and were put on board a schooner to be removed to Conanama. This passage, which should have taken, at most, but four and twenty hours, was so ill conducted, that it continued seven days. The master got drunk, made a whole day's error in the reckoning, incurred some unnecessary risks, and returned within sight of Cayenne, where he anchored. Two days after he sailed again, and arrived off Conanama; but here he had a new misfortune, for he got aground, and could not enter the mouth of the river. Five days were employed in seeking for canoes. The provisions, which had only been taken on board for one day, failed; a small allowance of biscuit was their only support, and muddy water their only beverage. At length, a sufficient number of canoes were collected together to take them on shore, where they were obliged to march for an hour in the heat of the day, with their baggage on their backs. At length they were installed in the fatal huts of the place, and incorporated with their brothers in misfortune,

whose horrid fate they shared; near half their number dying within a month.

When Desvieux, Bouches, and Chapel made their visit to Conanama, the only deported they found were those by la Décade; for they only speak of the 82 who arrived there at the end of Thermidor. We may therefore justly conclude, that Jeannet knew the result of that visit, at the time he sent thither the deported who arrived by the Bayonnaise. But as the report was not drawn up at Cayenne, nor dated, till the 1st Brumaire, he would doubtless pretend, that this additional inhumanity cannot be attributed to him, since this last party had set sail some days before. But without entering any further into this discussion, he will not at least deny, that at the time he sent them off, he was well acquainted with the state of that place, not only by the report which the commander of the military post sent him every three days, but by the complaints which had induced him to send commissaries thither to investigate their truth. He will not deny, that notwithstanding this report, which so strongly demonstrates the imperious necessity of removing the deported, he could not prevail

on himself to give orders to that effect. He set off on the 20th Brumaire, and the deported were not removed till sometime after. What heart, that possesses, I will not say the smallest share of humanity, but only a moderate portion of barbarity, would have refused to yield to the impression this report must make, or would have been able to defer, for a single moment, the affording relief to these victims of misfortune?

It is impossible to review the conduct of Jeannet, without being filled with the liveliest indignation; and it is the more disgusting and repugnant to every honest feeling of the heart, as this man, who possesses the art of hypocrisy in the highest degree, pretends to pass for a man of humanity. But how will he now maintain such a pretention? Will he even attempt to contradict me? 'Tis from his own writing that I have pourtrayed his character; or rather, I have but copied his own words; and if some reflections, which it was impossible to suppress, have escaped me, and which can but weaken the impression those words are calculated to produce, let them not be imputed to revenge. I confess, that I have personally had but little cause of complaint against

Jeannet, and that, when I was once settled on my plantation, I had the supreme good fortune to be entirely forgotten by him. But it is not for myself that I am writing, and I cannot be insensible to the severe and rigorous fate—what do I say—to the premeditated murder of my companions in misfortune. Oh! how much rather would I have spoken of Jeannet as I have spoken of the officers of la Charente, of the inhabitants of Cayenne, of the pious sisters of the hospital, and of all those who have taken an interest in our misfortunes! With what heartfelt satisfaction would my pen, which is fatigued with the horrors I have described, have reposed upon actions which ennoble and embellish human nature!

The successor of Jeannet, of whom unfortunately I shall have no reason to speak with praise, at first afforded an appearance of more humane sentiments, and yielded to the letter which the commanding officer of the military post of Sinamary wrote to him a few days after his arrival, and which was as follows:

"The deported, the military detachment, and the officers of government, said this officer, are in a dreadful situation; Every one is ill, and seve-

ral at the point of death. They are destitute of every thing, even of medicines. The hammocks of the deported are very narrow, and but four feet long, and the sick fall down and expire, without relief, sometimes three or four of them in a day" !!

These unfortunate men indeed were now removed to Sinamary; but they were very little better accommodated there. Whether through negligence or on purpose, they were left in want of every necessary, and the little that was furnished them was of the worst quality. In short, they were placed in the midst of the cruelest and most hard hearted men, that could be found in the colony. Nothing can give a more forcible idea of their deplorable situation, than the letter written to the new agent by the officer Freytag, commandant of the military post of Sinamary, on the 2d Nivôse in the year 7. It was as follows:

" The hospital is in the most deplorable situation, and the filthiness and want of attention, that prevail there, have caused the death of several of the deported. Some of the sick have fallen out of their hammocks in the night, and no atten-

attendant has given them the least assistance; so that they were found dead upon the ground. One of them was smothered to death, the cords of his hammock having broken at the head-end, while his feet remained suspended.

"The property of those who have died, has been plundered and carried off in the most scandalous manner. Those who buried them, have been seen to break their legs, and tread and press their weight upon their stomachs, in order the more quickly to force them into a grave too narrow and too short to receive them. These horrors were committed in the greatest haste, in order to run with the more dispatch to plunder those who were dying; while the attendants at the hospital insulted the sick, and loaded them with expressions of infamy, ignominy, and cruelty, at the very moment, when they were in the agonies of death.

"The store keeper of the magazine, who was intrusted with the effects of the deported, would only deliver them a part of the property they claimed, saying to them, "YOU ARE DEAD, that is enough for you." He did not give provisions for the deported who first came from Co-

nanama to Sinamary, and who were so weak and emaciated when they arrived, that they fell down through hunger and faintness. They were obliged to lie upon the ground, and the sick were eat up by worms, before they expired."

But let us terminate this painful narrative, which overwhelms the mind with feelings too distressing, too horrid, to be pursued. Without any longer accompanying the unfortunate exiles of Sinamary through all the horrors they endured, I shall confine myself to saying, that they had very little reason to be better satisfied with the new agent than with Jeannet; and that the mortality still continued, and had carried off near two thirds of their number at the time of my departure.

May this picture of the miseries, which those who still remain have suffered, and are now suffering, meet the eyes of the new government! They will not behold it with indifference, nor any longer defer withdrawing from the dominion of death, and restoring to their country, men who have been proscribed without trial, and who have miraculously escaped the barbarity, that panted for their immolation.

The island of Cayenne is about fifteen leagues in circumference, and is only divided from the continent by arms of the sea or rivers of the medium breadth of our rivers in France, and which are almost every where used as the road of communication to go to the various plantations, and to pass from one to another. They are in fact the high road of that country. I went with M. Berthollon on board a canoe navigated by a negroe with a *pagaye*, which is a kind of oar, whose form resembles that of a wooden shovel. This instrument they use with great address, in regular measure, and almost always accompanied by singing. In three hours we arrived at my friend's plantation, which lies about four leagues from Cayenne. It is situated upon the creek of Cavalet which runs into the cascade river, and is named *la Solitaire*. It would have been difficult to have given it a more appropriate name.

As we landed, I perceived, that my friend had expressed himself very accurately, when he told me that his plantation was but inconsiderable. I now beheld, in the midst of immense woods, a cluster of about ten negro-huts, over which a cottage of a somewhat more considerable appear-

ance seemed to predominate. This cottage consisted of three rooms, and the whole was covered with branches of trees. It was constructed of pieces of rough wood not dressed and squared, across which lathes were fixed, and the interstices filled with earth worked up with straw, which is very justly denominated mud-work *(bousillage)*. It was in one of these rooms that I was to reside, and a bed was placd there for me, which Berthollon had lent me. It also contained some chairs, tables, a closet, and all the little utensils, which are necessary in a very moderate batchelor's establishment.

As long as Berthollon continued with me, the pleasure of his society, his kindness, and his chearfulness left me no time to reflect on my situation; but his affairs would not permit him to be long absent from home, and he took leave of me two days after our arrival. When he was gone, I felt all the horror of my solitude, and experienced a depression at my heart, which I had the utmost difficulty to vanquish. It must be confessed that my situation was most cruel. Exiled to a distance of 1500 leagues from my country, from my wife, my children, and my friends; I was now

confined to a spot in the midst of impassable forests, alone among negroes, to whose language I was an utter stranger, and cut off from all the rest of mankind, without any idea at what period these privations would cease.—But I knew that to suffer without murmuring, and to make the best of his situation, is the best maxim the unfortunate can adopt, and as I was already accustomed to misery, I soon resigned myself to my fate.

Three principal objects now fixed my attention. My lodging, my food, and my occupations. This was the narrow circle within which all my present views were comprised. My situation seemed somewhat to resemble that of Robinson Crusoe; and although I was not altogether of Rousseau's opinion, that his history is the best of books, the little I could recollect of that romance, which I had read in my infancy, was now not wholly lost.

As to the first of these three objects, it was no inconsiderable advancement to be provided with a very indifferent cottage, although the mud-work had failed, and the roof was in a very bad state. I made however such arrangements as were most calculated to alleviate these inconve-

niencies, and though I was never comfortable, it defended me from the heat of the sun, and in some measure from the rain, which were the most essential points; for Guiana, which lies very near the line, is always either burnt up with heat, or drowned with water. The year is then divided into two seasons, rather inaccurately called summer and winter; for the heat is always nearly the same. Vegetation never ceases, the trees are continually covered with flowers, fruits, or leaves; and are never seen in a state of nakedness. From Messidor to Frimaire *, which is the summer season, there is a constant drowth,

* I am far from censuring the new calendar; but on preparing it sufficient attention was not paid to the difference there is in the temperature and productions of our colonies, when they were ordered to adopt it. Not one of the new denominations of the months, marks the state of the atmosphere, &c. in these climates. If some of them are suitable, such as Pluviôse, which is in the rainy season, they are too limited, as there are seven months which might be involved in that title.—Others are altogether ridiculous; for with what propriety can the distinctions of Vendémiaire, Frimaire, and Nivôse be employed in a country, where there is neither vintage, cold, or snow?

and water is very scarce. The heat, at this time, becomes excessive, and would be insupportable, if it were not moderated by the abundant dews of the night, which refresh the atmosphere. During the rest of the year, which is called winter, the rains are continual. The temperature of the air, however, does not vary, and in the intervals of sunshine, it is perhaps more sultry, and certainly more dangerous, than in the other season.—It must be readily conceived, that these two extremes will render a flat country extremely unwholesome; a country which is marshy from the want of running streams, and covered with immense forests which intercept the circulation of the air. Thus the fever is naturalized to it; and it rarely happens that those who possess the strongest constitutions can pass through the year without being attacked by it.

I found, in my hut, a variety of enemies, from whom it was necessary that I should protect myself. I shall not mention toads, which were crawling by dozens under my bed; that was a trifle, which did not merit a moment's attention, as these animals are perfectly innocent; but I cannot be silent on the subject of

musquitos and bats, which are formidable inmates. The first, (and in this class I comprehend several kinds of stinging flies,) are very common in this colony, though much more numerous on the sea coast, than in the interior parts of it. They have a very painful sting, and both the white and black inhabitants are continually on their guard against it.—They employ fumigation in that part of the day when these insects appear in the greatest numbers; as well as in the evening after the setting of the sun; then, indeed, you are not assailed by an occasional musquito, but you are absolutely enveloped in clouds of them.—The white people add the *moustiquaire*, which is a kind of tent, made of gauze, canvas, and linen, according to the circumstances of those who procure them.—There are some situations where it is absolutely necessary to take the ordinary meals under a tent of this kind, and to employ every possible precaution that the musquitos do not enter it.—There are others, where little negro boys are placed under the table, with napkins to preserve your legs from these insects, while you must guard your hands and face as well as you can.—But there is no habitation

where

where the owners of it do not make use of these *moustiquaires*. In short, to go to bed without them, is a very severe punishment.

The bats are not so numerous, but they are more dangerous. They are about the size of the largest of those which we have in Europe.—During the day they remain in the timber work of the houses, and among the leaves with which it is covered, where it is not possible to see them; and in the night they come forth in search of food.—If they find any one uncovered, they fix upon his feet, inflict a slight wound on his toe, moderating the pain by a gentle motion of the wings, which at once cools and sets him asleep: they then gorge themselves with his blood, and leave it to flow till the vessels are exhausted.—I saw an example of what I have now related, in the chamber adjoining to that which I occupied. The person who had been bit was extremely weakened by the abundant bleeding he had undergone; and his sheets were drenched with blood. I have seen also hogs who were bit by the bats, some of which have died.

My first object was, therefore, to procure a linen *moustiquaire*, when I had nothing to fear,

during the night, from musquitos or bats, and I slept free from disturbance. The toads departed at break of day, and I was left master of the house, though I was not free from the attacks of other insects. I experienced such violent itchings, that I could not avail scratching myself till I drew blood, and without being able to discover the cause.—A negro informed me that I was attacked by a kind of lice, called *Poux d'Agouti.* It is a red insect imperceptible to common sight; and can be discovered only by very minute observation. I, however, at length discovered them.—The negro who had made me acquainted with the cause of my complaint, communicated the remedy, which was to anoint myself with the juice of lemons, and as they are in great plenty, I soon got rid of these plagues.—Another insect, which was still more tormenting, is the *chique,* (Pulex penetrans. Linn.) It is very small, leaps like the flea, which it resembles in colour. It attaches itself to every part of the body, but particularly to the great toes and heels. It insinuates itself into the pores, makes its lodgment, deposes its young, and in four or five days forms a kind of pouch of the size of

a pea, which contains the whole family, and sometimes more than one generation. The place which it occupies would be soon gnawed in a terrible degree, if a remedy were not applied. I have frequently seen negroes whose principal toes had been the prey of these voracious creatures. The method of cure is extirpation with the point of a penknife, but more generally with the point of a pin. The flesh that covers the pouch must be removed, but with great care, that it may not burst, otherwise the insects would be reproduced: when, however, there is any danger of reproduction, an application of tobacco will sometimes prevent it: But in whatever manner this operation is performed, it proves extremely painful.—Within a week after I had arrived at the colony, I had thirty of these extraordinary lice at my feet.—Since that time I have had less of them, but have not, for seven days together, been free from their visits.

When I was established in my cottage, with a bed and a *moustiquaire*, no small objects of luxury for an exile, it was necessary to pay attention to my food; and I was fed in the same proportion as I was lodged.—As the government did not allow

me any provisions, I was obliged to provide for myself. I had brought a small quantity of bread from Cayenne, but in six days it became mouldy; and as I had no ready means of sending thither for more, I was under the necessity of waiting for some accidental opportunity which seldom presented itself oftener than once a month. On the other hand, this bread being made of European flour, which was generally damaged and full of insects, was not very inviting, and, after all, it cost twelve *sous* per pound. All these considerations determined me to content myself with the bread of the negroes, which is made from the flour of the manioc, and is called *cassava*. Nothing can be more dry or tasteless, but it is improved by moistening it, and at length I accustomed myself to it.—I easily procured rice, which is in great plenty at Cayenne. Fish is common, and excellent: it was a principal resource of my table. As to drink—I had brought with me a few bottles of wine, and had procured a small quantity of *taffia*, which is an extract of sugar. I used it with moderation; but as I was in a country where every thing tended to relaxation,

it was indispensable to counteract that tendency by some corroborating fluid.

It may now indeed be asked, is there no butcher's meat, nor milk, nor poultry, nor game, nor gardens in this country? And free as you were, and possessing money to purchase whatever you might want, why did you not procure yourself these advantages? Previous to the revolution, cattle, milk, and poultry, were in some degree of plenty; but at present, these articles are equally scarce.—These, however, require continual care and attention, which the negroes, since they have obtained their liberty, will no longer exercise. Besides, in the first effervescence of freedom, they seized on the cattle, and have considerably diminished the species.—On the other hand, the colonists, disgusted with the new order of things, which, in a great measure, annihilated their property, paid but little attention to the resources which remained: and lastly, the requisitions have almost produced a general destruction. When I quitted Cayenne, it was no longer permitted to kill a cow, a calf, or a sheep, without the special authority of the agent; and such a permission was never obtained but

with great difficulty, and with such a reservation to himself, as illustrated the fable of the Lion who divided the spoil. Hence it is, that the quantity of butcher's meat and of milk food is so small, as scarcely to be considered as articles of provision in this colony.

Fowls succeed very well, and particularly ducks, which are of a very fine species; but from the extreme drought and humidity of the seasons, uncommon attention is necessary to preserve them. I have already explained the reasons for the indifference of people of property; while the negro, having no interest in these objects, pays no attention to them, so that a fowl sells for three, a duck for twelve *livres*, and an egg, for three *sous*.

The game * consists of the wild duck, which is excellent, the *spatula*, which is equally good, the partridge, the snipe, and the wood pigeon, all of which are inferior to those of Europe.—To these may be added, the flamand, the aigrette, the grosbec, the tacoco, and the perroquet, which

* It is proper to observe that respecting every thing which is peculiar to Guiana, I shall employ the terms used in the country.

are in no estimation.—The quadrupeds are, the agouti, the accouchi, the pac, the tatou, about the size of our hares and rabbits, but very inferior to them, the deer, whose flesh is generally very hard; but in this country it cannot be kept, and must either be eaten quite fresh or in a state of putrefaction.—I was told by every one that the monkey is a delicate food; but I never had an opportunity of verifying the opinion, nor do I think that I should have had the inclination.—The lizard, which is of the same kind as that of Europe but larger, is also considered as a delicacy. I ate of it, without being informed of the contents of the dish, and found it a palatable food.

As for hunting, it is not only an extremely painful, but a dangerous occupation; as it must be pursued in thick woods, whose passage is continually embarrassed with creeping plants, and where the sportsman must be every moment liable to tread upon serpents, which are very common and extremely venomous in this burning climate.

Garden cultivation requires a laborious attention, and is not successful, so that vegetables are not only rare, but very indifferent at Cayenne.

The alternate extremes of drought and humidity present obstacles which it is very difficult to surmount. The melon succeeds in some parts, and is of a fine flavour. Fruits are in great abundance, and require but little culture. The most valuable of them is the banana, which is one of the chief resources of the colony; and, whether drest or raw, whether boiled or baked, it is always excellent. It figures on the table as bread and ragout, as confectionary and fruit. There is also the sweet orange, the anana, which emits a fragrant odour, but is of an acid taste; the mango, transplanted from the Indies, is very wholesome, but has, in a small degree, the smell of turpentine; the cocoa, the apricot and the cherry, but they bear no ressemblance to the fruits of the same name in Europe: the latter is only eaten as a preserve; the fig, the sapotille, the barbadine, the avocat, the corossol, and some others. In general, the fruits of Europe are, in my opinion, infinitely superior; and I do not hesitate to give them the preference.

When I took my leave of Berthollon, I requested him to indulge me with some books,

and

and he gratified me with the loan of his whole library; but, unfortunately, the works which composed it were generally imperfect: for it appears to be an adopted custom in that country to keep all books that have been borrowed—It even extended to the *Encyclopédie*. A proprietor of that work with great difficulty recovered a volume which had been borrowed of him many years before by some one who had forgotten to return it. I possessed, however, the company of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Montesquieu and of Richardson, who enabled me to pass many pleasant hours, and to dissipate the *ennui* of my solitude. But conversation was still wanting.—Books have their charms, and Nature is still more charming than they; but though it is pleasing to reflect on the contents of the one, and to contemplate the wonders of the other, the pleasure would be greatly heightened by enjoying the opportunity to communicate it;—and I possessed not that advantage.

The nights are nearly as long as the days at Cayenne. The sun rises almost always at six, and its variations do not exceed half an hour throughout the year. The dawn and the twi-

light do not occupy more than a quarter of an hour; the day appears and disappears with the sun.—I arose every morning before it was light, and took my walk in the neighbouring woods, till about eight o'clock. It was, by that time, very hot; I therefore returned home, applied myself to reading, transmitted my reflections to paper, and, at four in the afternoon, retreated again to the woods, where I remained till night.

I did not venture to penetrate into them, from an apprehension of the monsters and the reptiles. The tiger is very common; and there are few plantations where he does not sometimes seize and bear away the dogs in the very enclosure of the cottages. In any place, where there are cattle, his visits are still more frequent. It is in vain that I am assured he will not attack man, but, on the contrary, that he will fly from him; I have no desire to meet such a savage animal.—The serpents and adders are still more common. There is every species of them, and some that are of an enormous size. They very seldom attack man; but if any one should be so unfortunate as to put his foot upon them, their bite is the probable consequence, and is attended with

great danger.—I am ready to acknowledge that I felt very much alarmed both at tigers and serpents, though they had never done me any injury.—I had no suspicion whatever of the Directory and my colleagues; nevertheless, it is known to every one how they have treated me.

I often met numerous companies of monkeys, particularly of that small species which are called *tamarin*; and I amused myself with their gracefulness and activity. They made all kinds of grimaces, and seemed to delight in springing from branch to branch, always preferring those which were the most flexible. They sometimes suspended themselves by their tails, and continued swinging at their ease, till they were seized by some other vagary. Whenever I clapped my hands, they instantly took to a precipitate flight.

But the most agreeable of my rencontres was that of the birds, and particularly of the colibri and the fly-bird. Nothing can be more beautiful than the raiment with which nature has clothed them; she has lavished on them the most lively, brilliant, and happily assorted colours. I contemplated them with delight, and passed whole hours in admiring them; but no sooner

did they begin to sing, than my transport ceased. Nothing can be more disagreeable than their note, which has something in it of the scream of the perroquet. There are many other birds who do not possess a superior melody.

But there were, in my immediate vicinity, objects more worthy of my observation. These were the negroes who had the conduct of the plantation, to the amount of thirty of both sexes, comprehending old men and children. Some of them were born in Africa, and others in Cayenne, of African parents; afterwards I saw a much greater number of them. I obtained considerable information respecting them from the best informed persons of the colony; and when I had qualified myself to understand their mode of expression, I used to talk with them myself; so that I, at length, have formed of this class of people, which have caused so much discussion, an opinion equally independent and impartial, as I neither am, nor have the least desire to become, a colonist.

The negro is considered with great prejudice, and I believe with equal injustice, at Cayenne. He passes for a being of a class inferior to ours in

intelligence, and superior in wickedness; the natural enemy of the white people, and incapable of being made useful to the colonies, but in a state of slavery. These different charges demand a distinct examination.

It is certain that the negro, on a superficial view of him, is extremely ignorant. The most common and simple ideas can, with great difficulty, penetrate his brain. He carries his superstition to an inconceivable height. He is firmly persuaded that some of his comrades can, when they please, produce certain prodigies, more or less extraordinary, to gratify his love of pleasure, or to satisfy his desire of vengeance. He will not pass by a place, during the night, where any one has been buried within the space of an year. No consideration would induce him to gather the fruit from a tree on which the *piayes* had been placed: a kind of charm, that consists of a pacquet filled with hair, feathers, old linen, a dead bird, &c. Many persons employ this pacquet to preserve their trees from robbery. But all this ignorance, &c. in the negro, is nothing more than the want of instruction, and the same cause would produce similar effects in other men.

Sorcerers have been very much in fashion among us; nay, I am not certain if it has entirely passed away in the country villages of France: but this I know, that human beings are to be found in them who are as ignorant and as superstitious as the negroes. These poor people have not the same means of instruction; while those who have it in their power to improve them, keep them in error for their own particular advantage. As a proof that ignorance and superstition are not more inherent in their species than in ours, there is among them a certain individual who, without any aid but his own native powers, is very superior on these two points to many of us. I do not know if we can make them profound reasoners; but this I know, that we can make them reasonable beings. I have seen them in matters which concerned their interests, or made a part of their occupations, conduct themselves with superior intelligence. They calculated with reflection, and executed with dexterity.

The opinion which the inhabitants of Cayenne have formed of this perverse disposition, proceeds from a spirit of exaggeration; nor do I believe that we should be great gainers on a comparison

with them, in point of natural disposition. They form a general judgement of them from certain particular acts, and I am ready to acknowledge that their conduct is sometimes revolting to humanity. They are, in common with the inhabitants of hot countries, violent and revengeful; and in the abject state in which they exist, and not being restrained by any of those considerations, which have a powerful influence on men who regard the public opinion, they abandon themselves to all the impetuosity of their passions, and plunge into the greatest excess. Others who are more phlegmatic, oftentimes do much more injury, though with less noise. But, I repeat it, these are only particular acts; and if some of them manifest a malicious disposition, there are others who conduct themselves well. I have seen among them good husbands, good fathers, good servants, as well as men rigidly exact in fulfilling all their duties and engagements.

Their antipathy to the white people cannot be denied, though not without exceptions. Whether it arises from a jealousy of that superiority which our attainments give us in social life, in luxurious

enjoyments, and local accommodations; or whether it is from a desire of revenging that state of slavery in which they have existed, or the cruelties which have been sometimes exercised on them, though they have been greatly exaggerated; or whether it is from the fear of returning to their former state of slavery; it is certain that they do not love the white people, and that they apply themselves to do them mischief. If they perceive that any thing belonging to a colonist is likely to receive injury or to perish, they will take care not to inform him of the circumstance, and do every thing in their power to retard his discovery of it. If they receive any orders from him which they believe may tend to advance his interests, they will execute them with indifference and aukwardness. If they foresee that such orders may prove injurious to him, they will obey them with zeal and activity. They do not make open war against him, because they dare not; but they harbour the most mischievous intentions, which they never fail to put in practice, when they can do it without exposing themselves; in short, they are influenced by a party spirit. They act in concert, pass whole nights

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in consultation, while the colonist sleeps, to make their reciprocal communications, and to form regular plans. Their first question, when they meet one another, or the white people, is, what news? but it is in vain that you put the same question to them; they will not communicate any thing which they may know, or they will return a fallacious answer.

The sovereign happiness of the negroes, and perhaps of all mankind, is repose. To do nothing is their supreme felicity. With us, the wants, the conveniencies of life, and ambition, impel to an active state of existence; while with them, the two latter objects are wholly unknown, and the former lies within a very small compass: besides, they go naked, and have therefore no occasion to labour in order to procure clothes. The men wear nothing but a kind of girdle, called *calimbé*, which is made either of linen or of stuff, about three fingers in breadth. They wear this from a sentiment of modesty, whose object, however, is very imperfectly fulfilled. The women have round their waist a piece of linen or stuff called *camisa*, about the size of a moderate napkin, which falls down to their knees; but from their

waist upwards they are entirely naked. Nor does their habitation require any great expence: it is a cabin constructed like those of the exiles, of a few pieces of timber and the foliage of trees, which are easily procured. As to their food, that is readily procured by hunting and fishing. They use their arrows with great skill and address; and if it should be necessary to add to their store of provisions, for those who wish to lead a more sedentary life, the labour of fourteen days will produce sufficient for the whole year, by employing it in planting the manioc or the banana, which form the real bread-fruit of this colony.

The indulgence of their passions is not more costly. Women and dancing are their only objects, and to which they abandon themselves with a licentious ardour. It is not with money that they purchase the favours of their mistresses; simple nature pays all the expense. As to the dance, that is obtained at the same easy rate. The moon or the stars furnish the illuminations, a fountain or the neighbouring cistern provides the refreshments, and the orchestra is composed of one or two tambourins, which they all strike in their turns. There cannot well be a more violent ex-

ercise than that of the minstrels, in whose art it is a point of honour to excel. I have seen negroes strike these tambourins with such force and activity, that they were bathed in sweat, and seized with convulsions; nor did they cease till their strength was entirely gone, and they fell down faint and exhausted. Their dances are full of animation, and in perfect measures; but I could not remain long at these festivities, as such a rank odour exhaled from their bodies as to be absolutely intolerable.

When the decree that gave liberty to the blacks arrived at Cayenne, and was hastily proclaimed, without being preceded by any of those measures which prudence required, to prevent the dangerous effects of a too sudden liberation, the negroes abandoned themselves to the most immoderate joy, and particularly to dancing, so that many of them died from their excessive indulgence. They were found in great numbers extended in the streets and roads, in such a weak and exhausted state, that it was with difficulty some of them were recovered. This circumstance was frequently attested to me at Cayenne,

and from the violent delight with which I have seen them dance, I am disposed to believe it.

It was naturally to be expected that a cessation from all kinds of labour would immediately result from the abolition of slavery. The negroes work but to provide for their wants, and when those are supplied they cease to work. It was, however, soon discovered, that though this state is very natural to the negroes, it must be very prejudicial to the colony: and regulations were made to attach them to certain plantations, according to the will of the agent, and to subject them to a course of labour, of which the nature, the measure, and the recompence, was adjusted. The punishment on the part of the planter was reduced to a diminution of their wages, and, in certain cases, to the prison of the plantation. For offences of greater criminality the agent reserved to himself the power of punishing them with greater severity, and to send them to the house of correction called *la Franchise.*

This regulation was an infringement of the principle of liberty; for by what law were the negroes more compellable to work than the whites? The constitution rendered them all

equal, and they ought to be treated with equality. It is not, however, that I am disposed to blame this regulation, it was absolutely indispensable; nor am I sorry to have an opportunity of remarking, that what is sometimes very beautiful and sublime in theory, often meets with insuperable obstacles in practice. What then has resulted from this intermediate state between freedom and slavery? It has ended in the ruin of the colony and the colonists, and the manifest disadvantage of the negroes, who are in a much worse situation than they were previous to the revolution.

I cannot ascertain, with the necessary degree of precision, the state of the exports of the colony at the commencement of the revolution; but it is well known that they have been much diminished since the blacks had obtained their liberty. This colony had, with difficulty, just got the better of that languid state which had been occasioned by the unsuccessful operation of 1763, by the prejudices which grew out of it, and by its bad administration: Malouet, who had been the intendant of it, had become much better acquainted with it than any of his predecessors. He went himself to Surinam, in

order to acquire the knowledge necessary for his situation, and had brought back a very experienced and able man, who knew how to give an impulse to emulation, and to direct labour to the most useful objects. Already the fortunes of individuals, which, in a well regulated state, make the fortune of the public, began to advance :—but the revolution, the decree of liberty, the agents appeared, and every thing was eclipsed. From that time this colony has been supported only by the prizes made of Dutch ships previous to the peace ; afterwards on those of Portugal, and always on those of neutral powers and allies. At present, when this resource has failed, and the agents have applied to their own advantage whatever it had produced, Cayenne finds itself in a most miserable condition.

The colonists have fallen with the place which they inhabit. In the first place, the requisitions and paper-money had given a shock to their fortunes, when the abolition of slavery, and the cessation from all work, which was for some time the consequence of it, completed their ruin. Since the regulation the negroes have, in some

degree, returned to their employments; but two great obstacles, inseparable from the liberty of the blacks, opposed themselves to every kind of prosperity. The first is the precarious state of property; not that the colonist is deprived of his lands, but, as I have already said, land receives all its value from the hands that cultivate, and those hands are at the command of the agent; for as it suits his caprice, he can put a plantation under an interdict, by taking away all the blacks and placing them elsewhere.—Such a possibility alone is sufficient to prevent the colonists from forming establishments which require an advance of capital, that may never be permitted to make any adequate returns. The fancy or the resentment of the agent of government may produce this effect. They work by the day, and make the best of whatever is in a state of culture, but do not engage in any new speculation. The second is the very limited power of the colonist over the negroes. The latter know that the *maximum* of their punishment is a prison; and the greater part of them prefer a prison to labour. It is true, indeed, that on obstinately refusing to fulfil the task he has undertaken, or

for any more weighty offence, complaint may be made to the agent, who may send the idle and insolent negro to the house of correction; but the colonist is deprived, in the meantime, of the labour of his hired tenant. Indeed, inconceivable as it may be, it often happens, that the negro, after he has received his punishment, is sent to another plantation, without being replaced in the service of the person who complained against him.—What then is the consequence?—The question is readily answered:—the colonist suffers every thing from the negro; as he would rather that he should work little, or work ill, than be altogether deprived of him.—The condition of a colonist, therefore, is become full of trouble and disquietude. I have seen some of them who have cursed it from the bottom of their hearts.

Nor do the negroes possess a superior degree of contentment. What, they exclaim, is the trifling retribution which is given to us, of no more than from three to six sous a day, in a country where every thing is so dear? Since we are obliged to work, we ought, at least, to receive reasonable wages. Formerly, it is true, we received

ceived nothing, but then we had nothing to pay: our masters nourished and took the greatest care of our infants, as well as of our wives and ourselves, in the maladies to which we are so frequently subject; because they had an interest in our preservation. But now we must feed and take care of our children, and look to our wives and ourselves when sickness overtakes us. We know that there must be an hospital on every plantation, but we no longer find the same care and the same remedies; and when we grow old and infirm, we are left to perish.—I have seen many of them who regretted the abolition of slavery; and I well know, that the depopulation of this class is much greater than before the revolution, not from the want of fresh supplies, but from actual effective loss.

Hence I draw the following conclusion:—that the negro who has neither wants nor ambition will never work but by compulsion; that all regulation on this subject will be ineffectual, and never attain the object it proposes:—In one word, that the liberty of the blacks is incompatible with the prosperity of the colonies. At the same time, I would not have it imagined that I

invite government to give them back their irons, and to recommence the traffic.—Such a thought does not possess a place in my mind. We must not suffer ourselves to be seduced by the example of the Greeks and Romans, so often and so unjustly the subject of eulogium, who did not only reduce the blacks, but even those of their own complexion, to slavery; and who exercised over them an arbitrary power of life and death. Let us not believe those who tell us that we save the lives of those unfortunate beings whom we go to Africa to purchase, since they were prisoners of war whom their conquerors would exterminate, if they did not entertain the hope of selling them to us. Let us submit to certain privations, and leave men free; let us, above all things, leave them in those climates where nature has produced them.—Such are the injunctions of humanity; but politics and the balance of trade . . . . . These expressions are too profound for me; and I leave to others the task of discussing the important questions which they present.

The productions of Cayenne are generally of the first quality, and some of them are not found

in our other colonies. The cotton is in high estimation, and the coffee is classed after that of Moka. The roucou, which is so advantageously employed in colours, flourishes there. The clove is cultivated with the greatest success. The nutmeg has been greatly neglected, but there is no doubt that it would succeed. The cinnamon and the pepper trees are by no means rare; the cocoa and the vanilla are also to be found among its produce. Lastly, the sugar-cane flourishes as at Saint Domingo. Under a protecting government, and with a different system, this colony might be advanced to an high degree of prosperity.—Such was the opinion of many of the colonists; and when I objected to the miseries of the climate: We agree, said they, that French Guiana is the grave of the Europeans; but if it was more inhabited; if a course were given to the stagnant waters; if the forests were levelled, which intercept the circulation of the air, it would not be more unwholesome than the Antilles.

A condition purely contemplative is extremely tiresome. I wished much to employ my hands, and I sometimes made the attempt, but always without success. At length, tired of my soli-

tude, I exercised myself in handling a paddle, and was soon able to conduct a canoe. From this moment, my existence appeared to be enlarged. I made acquaintance with my neighbours; my cruizes extended insensibly, and there was not a plantation within the circuit of two leagues, where I had not formed some kind of connection. The rivers are very calm, and the tides cause no agitation. I profited therefore of the ebb and flow to make my voyages. I visited, in this manner, all the exiles who were in my neighbourhood: the greater part of them were priests. With what patience did they sustain their misfortunes! Never did they suffer the least complaint to escape them.—What consolation they found in religion!—I doubt whether atheists would have enjoyed the same tranquillity.

I oftentimes went on board my canoe with a book, at the rising or setting of the sun, without any other object than to read on the river, as the stream bore me gently along, and to enjoy the beauty of the surrounding scene. The banks of these rivers are lined with lofty trees of the finest verdure, which were always enriched with

birds of the most brilliant and varied colours. The finest circumstance that occurred to me on these occasions, was the descent of a company of flamands, with their flame-coloured plumage, on these trees. The contrast of the two colours, heightened by the various effects of the light, produced by the oblique rays of the sun, in these vast solitudes, formed a most delightful picture. Sometimes the canoe of a negro fisherman appeared in the back-ground; and as I began to be known, he would approach me to ask what news, and when I answered that I knew of none, he continued his course. Indeed we seldom extended our conversation beyond this brief interchange of question and answer.

In so hot a country it is a luxury to bathe;—and one evening, being in the river, a negro came and placed himself beside me. We were both of us perfectly tranquil, when a cry, to which I did not give particular attention, caused the negro to quit the water with great precipitation; and he immediately called upon me to follow him. I did not hesitate to obey him; but on demanding the cause of this hurry, he asked if I did not hear the crocodile? I was in-

deed sensible of a considerable motion in the water, and at no great distance from us, but I saw nothing. I afterwards learned that the crocodile was very common in these rivers, and that some of them are of a monstrous size. I have since seen many of these dangerous animals, but the length of the largest of them was not more than ten feet.—Another day, being in the canoe with one of my neighbours, I plunged my arm into the water to moderate the excessive heat which I suffered. " You are guilty of a very " great imprudence," said he; " draw it out " immediately. The sharks sometimes ascend " these rivers, when they follow the canoes; and " if one of them had been near us, he would " have made free with your arm."—I profited of his advice.

The 17th Fructidor, two months after my arrival at the plantation, I heard, about six in the evening, a discharge of twenty-two pieces of cannon, which was repeated the following day at six in the morning, at noon, and six in the evening. I did not altogether comprehend the cause of this cannonade, though I had my suspicions. The negroes, who did not know what to make of

it, were extremely agitated, for the report of a great gun never fails to fill them with the most fearful disquietudes. Two of them took a canoe and went in search of information; and on their return, they acquainted me, in their language, that all this waste of gunpowder was to celebrate the *Feast of the Exiles.*

On the 15th Brumaire following, there was another very brisk cannonade, for which I could assign no satisfactory reason. The negroes, however went in search of news, and I learned, on their return, that two frigates had arrived from France, which brought the new agent of the colony, who was to succeed Jeannet. This intelligence at once inspired me with hope and alarmed me with fear. At first, I indulged the expectation of receiving letters from my wife and my friends; I then began to fear that my condition to which I began, in some degree, to accustom myself, might be rendered worse, and that I might be ordered into confinement. I was disappointed both in my hopes and my apprehensions. I received no letter, and the agent did me the honour not to trouble himself about me.

This agent was an adventurer, named Burnel, the son of a contractor at Rennes. Having run away in his youth from the house of his father, he contrived to get, I know not by what means, to the Isle of France, where he formed the project to make the same arrangements in that island as have been since made at St. Domingo. The colonists, who soon discovered his intentions, sent him away.—It may be easily conceived, that he did not fail to boast to the ruling powers of his superior knowledge of that colony, his active patriotism and his cruel persecutions. He accordingly obtained the post of agent in the very Isle of France. Nothing could be more indiscreet than such a choice, unless it had been purposely determined to ruin the colony.—But what a triumph for Burnel to return to a country from which he had been sent away; to return there as master, and to see the colonists at his feet! What projects did he not form! and in the midst of them he arrived at his destination.—No sooner was this disastrous intelligence spread over the island, than the inhabitants were in a state of despair. They knew him well, and of what he was capable. Recovered, however, from their

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consternation, they formed the resolution not to become his victims, and to force him to reimbark. —This event was followed by a long string of doleful complaints to the Directory; the appointment to a new agency followed; and, to compleat the business, it was that of Cayenne. He departed, met his father, by chance, in a coffee-house; and, by chance, they knew each other. He took him to Cayenne, with an heap of revolutionary contractors, whom he had collected from the famous committees. Almost all of them were needy people, who seized upon this colony as a prey, and they acted according to that impression.

It would have been a very difficult task to have found a worse administrator of public affairs than Burnel.—This man was violent, ignorant, irrational, haughty, and rapacious. He never formed a plan, but was determined always by the caprice of the moment; and very commonly contradicted and reformed on the morrow, what he had done on the preceding day. Instead of encouraging the hope of a mild and paternal administration, he announced the most alarming severity. His proclamation of the 26th Bru-

maire contains the following words in large capital letters—*Labour or Death.* And what was the consequence? there was less labour; he put no one to death, and the negroes despised him. It would have been much better, without doubt, to have announced more suitable penalties, and to have put them in force. A mulatto, named *Ferrare*, whom Burnel had brought with him, perceiving that the regular cultivation of the colony would lead but slowly to fortune, was determined to quicken the course of events, and accordingly engaged, with his comrades, in a conspiracy to cut the throats of all the white people, to possess themselves of their property, and to seize on the government.—Burnel, who had no suspicion that matters would be carried quite so far, ordered him to be arrested. He then issued a proclamation, dated the 11th Frimaire, to remove all apprehensions from the colonists.—*A new project*, he said, *to disturb the peace of the colony has been happily discovered. Its object was nothing less than to destroy all the sources of public prosperity.*—It is very evident what these words signify. He named a commission to try the criminals whom he had caused to be arrested.

Instructions were accordingly given, and the proofs were complete. The public accuser declared that several of them should suffer death. Burnel then dissolved the commission, and, assuming himself the office of judge, an exertion of power which the Directory, who were in the habit of doing extraordinary things, had never ventured to assume, pronounced by his own authority various penalties, which are become in a great measure illusory. Some were condemned to exile, and others to the house of correction of *la Franchise*, for a certain time. He, however, afterwards pardoned them, and some of these very condemned persons were named electors at the next assembly, who chose Jeannet to represent them in the legislative body. He also prevented any appeal to the tribunal of cassation; and banished in fact, those persons in office who proposed to apply to it. He arbitrarily made vacancies in order to provide for his creatures whom he had brought with him. He ordered hostilities to commence against the Americans, and afterwards issued a proclamation to announce peace. His object was to attract them to the port of Cayenne, in order to seize them. They,

however, did not fall into such a palpable snare. He violently possessed himself of cargoes which had not been paid for. He dilapidated the public treasure. He put the colony in a state of siege, and all mercantile commodities in requisition. At length, he so vexed and oppressed the inhabitants, that they compelled him to depart. All these facts, and many others, are found in a justificatory memorial, which the inhabitants printed, and transmitted to the legislative body and the Directory.

Although Burnel ought not to be a subject of my consideration in any other point of view but as connected with the exiles, I shall be pardoned, I trust, for the sketch that I have given of his administration, and for adding the subsequent traits of his character.

He had appointed his father to be a member of the tribunal of justice; but this father, being a decided drunkard, at certain moments thought proper to fail in respect to his son; and the latter, accordingly, put him under arrest. He probably was guilty of some more weighty offence, as his son suspended him from his functions. The tribunal, who without doubt were very glad

of an opportunity to afford some amusement, appointed a solemn deputation, in full ceremonial, to wait on the citizen agent. The speaker described the deep wound which the sensibility of the judges had received, by the punishment of one of their most respectable colleagues, and represented the immense void which was occasioned, by his absence, in the tribunal.—" Restore " him to us we conjure you," said he, " do not " deprive us, do not any longer deprive the " public, of the aid of his superior knowledge." The agent suffered himself to relent, and the contractor was restored to his august functions.

He had married, on quitting France, a young relation, the daughter of an apothecary, who became pregnant, and who was troubled with very painful scruples respecting the legitimacy of her condition. " I have been married" said she to him, " by the municipality, but such a " marriage possesses no real validity: and till " the ceremony is performed by a priest, I shall " only consider myself as your mistress, and my " child will, in my eyes, be no better than a " bastard."—Burnel immediately enlarged on the modern doctrines, and wished to treat her

objections as a matter of merriment; but he soon perceived that his pleasantry was not in season. The young woman remained firm in her purpose, wept without ceasing, and was so deeply affected at her situation, that she inspired him with apprehensions both for herself and her child. "Well," said he, "since you will have it so, I must satisfy "you. I will send for the vicar of Cayenne, "and he shall marry us."—"No, no, I will "have nothing to do with him. I must have "a priest who has not taken the oaths to the "present government; there are several non-"juring clergy in this place, and you may send "for them."—"But, my dear girl, do you re-"flect for a moment on my situation? A man "in office! an agent! what will the public say? "what will the Directory think of it?"—"I do "not enter into these details; I act according to "the dictates of my conscience:—all religions "are permitted, and mine is for the non-juring "priests."—He found himself unable to reply; and all that the agent could obtain was her consent, to give the ceremony an air of secrecy.—André Parisot, a canon of Auxerre, who had not taken the oaths, came in a private manner to

bless the marriage; and Burnel had the extreme mortification to find himself on his knees before an exile.

The agent, nevertheless, was sometimes disposed to do and say things which did not inspire laughter, especially when he concerned himself about the exiles. He had ordered them to be transported from Conanama to Sinamary, but they did not find their condition improved; and it appears by the commandant of that post, that they were treated with great inhumanity. He ordered the roll of our names to be presented to him, and, on running them over, two in particular fixed his attention. They were those of Gibert-Desmolières and of Perlet. "The first of these gentlemen," said he, "prevented my being paid the appointments assigned me as agent of the Isle of France; and the second made himself merry, at my expence, in his Journal. I will take care to remember both of them."

Gisbert-Desmolières was quietly situated in a plantation, with two other exiles. He supported his condition with a becoming resolution, but continually veering, as we all were, between hope and fear. He had lately written a letter to Barbé-

Marbois, in which was the following passage: "The time is approaching when.....a term is put "to our proscriptions. The great difficulty for "us exiles, is to live. Our time is consumed in "fallacious hopes and vain desires. Mine are, "at present, confined to the hope of baffling "death, and of passing my latter days in the "bosom of my family; and if I attain that ob-"ject, I shall have more reason than ever to be "attached to life. Thus, after having obtained "one respite from death, we find new motives "to request another. We must however finish "our career, and when the moment shall arrive, "I will not disgrace it." It was at this period that some one was so imprudent to repeat to Gibert-Desmolières the declaration of Burnel. By a cruel fatality he learned, at the same time, that Couturier, his friend and benefactor, was about to pass into France. He considered himself, therefore, as abandoned by the whole world, and delivered up to the vengeance of a powerful enemy. This reflection affected him in such a powerful manner, as to become the stroke of death. "I open my letter," added he to Marbois, "to inform you, that I lost my senses, with-

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" in a few moments after I had written it; and I " am at present but very indifferent. But I have " been always prepared to die at the command of " tyrants, I shall not be less obedient to the uni- " versal law, nor less submissive when nature " shall summon me." His health continued to decline; and an express was sent to Couturier, who came with all possible speed, and took upon himself to convey him to Cayenne. But, on entering the canoe he ceased to speak; and on arriving at Cayenne he ceased to live. Thus, one of the most valuable men I ever knew, fell a victim to the most savage barbarity, for the strength and purity of his principles. His knowledge of finance, which had occupied his whole life, was very extensive, his attachment to real liberty was great, and his memory will be ever dear to me, as it must to every lover of virtue.

Perlet was so unfortunate as to have his leg scalded during the voyage, and it had been ignorantly treated on board the ship. On his arrival, he was carried to the hospital, where he remained six weeks, but was compelled by Jeannet to leave Cayenne, notwithstanding his afflicting situation. He was removed to a plantation, where, aban-

doned to himself, his wound increased, a fever succeeded, and he was in a state of great danger. In short, he was on the point of perishing, when a charitable inhabitant afforded him some assistance; which not being sufficient, and a gangrene beginning to appear, he caused him to be secretly removed to Cayenne, placed him under the care of professional persons, and recommended them to keep the secret. It was, however, ill kept, and Burnel, informed of this transgression of his orders, ordered some soldiers to find out Perlet and conduct him to prison.—Perlet, having received notice of this circumstance, wrote to Burnel a most affecting letter; and his answer was: —" Let him be instantly " sent away. What are his wound, his fever and " h s gangrene to me ?"—The soldiers put him on board a boat, in a dying state, though the tide was unfavourable, the night very obscure, and it rained a deluge. Obliged to stop at the first plantation, he was indebted to the kindness with which he was treated, and a robust constitution for his preservation at this crisis.—Who would believe that Burnel, who could indulge his cruel disposition at his pleasure, should think it

necessary to invent an idle calumny to justify his conduct on this occasion. He, however, wrote, 17th Frimaire, on this subject to the minister of the marine.—"One of the exiles, Perlet, as I "have been assured, has had the audacity to "wear the uniform of chief of brigade. I have "given orders to any soldiers who should find "him so decorated, to take him to prison. I "have also given him notice, that if such a cir-"cumstance should happen, his epaulets should "be torn from his shoulder on the public parade, "and his cheeks flapped with them; and I "will keep my word."—You will keep your word! Who will disbelieve you?—Nay, if you had added, that you would be his executioner, I should give you the same credit.—How is it possible to contain oneself in reading the account of such indignities?

Burnel did not love Jeannet, who, in fact, could not appear in a very amiable light to him, as he had carried off every thing he could lay his hands upon, and only left him some ears to glean, instead of the rich harvest which he had expected. The new agent seemed to take a pleasure in acting in direct contradiction to

what had been done by his predecessor: certain worthy people, therefore, availed themselves very artfully of this disposition in favour of the exiles, when they knew of the calumny which he had invented against Perlet. "The conduct of this Perlet," said they, "is inexcusable, and you have certainly acted with great propriety in sending him away; but we are, at the same time, well persuaded, that if he had not been so insolent, you would have let him alone till his cure was completed. You would not have acted like Jeannet, who, on these occasions, practised the most revolting barbarity. He caused the death of the unfortunate Tronçon du Coudray, in refusing to let him come to Cayenne for medical assistance."—"Oh, he exclaimed, do not say a word of Jeannet, who never shall be my model. If any exile should fall sick in the plantations, he has only to present me a petition, and I will give him permission to come hither." He had no sooner made this declaration, than means were employed to get a petition presented from Perlet, which received an immediate and favourable answer.

Berthollon had sold his plantation to Germain, in whose favour I have much to say; and I pro-

sited of an occasion, which presented itself, to inform him of an erisypelas which I had in my leg, and the fever which was the consequence of it. I entreated him to communicate my letter to an officer of health, and to send me his advice in writing. It happened to be at the very moment when Burnel had declared that he would give permission to the exiles who were sick to come to Cayenne. Instead, therefore, of executing my commission, Germain himself carried my letter to the agent; and, on presenting a petition, I obtained permission to remain at Cayenne during the space of twenty days.

This circumstance was very pleasant to me, as I found myself in the same place with Berthollon, Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladébat. A report having been spread that the English had appeared off Sinamary, and seemed to entertain a design upon that colony, Burnel pretended to believe that Marbois and Lafond were disposed to favour it; and, accordingly, ordered them to be conducted by a party of soldiers to Cayenne, where they were placed in the hospital. It appears at first, indeed, that there was no particular cruelty in this arrangement; but when it is con-

sidered that it respected two men who were upwards of fifty years of age, one of whom had but a very delicate constitution, and that both of them were worn down by sickness; that the journey is, at least, twenty-five leagues on the sea-side; that this space consists of successive sands and marshes; that it must be made on foot, amidst torrents of rain, interrupted only at intervals by the burning rays of the sun; that they were thus alternately scorched and inundated, without a single tree during three parts of the way; and in the whole length of the route not one solitary resting place where they might retire, except such as the humanity of the inhabitants might offer them; and that they were conducted as criminals by soldiers with bayonets fixed, a very adequate notion may be formed of their sufferings. Barbé-Marbois wrote to his wife on this subject as follows:—"In "consequence of an ill-founded and ridiculous "report, that the English threatened to attack "Sinamary, I have been conducted, in a very "weak condition, by an armed force to Cayenne, "constantly guarded by a corporal and four "fusileers. I dragged myself, in great pain,

" across the sands; sometimes pierced by the " rains, and sometimes scorched by the sun. I " thought my end was approaching; but the " care which has been taken of me at the hos- " pital has, in some degree, re-established me."

Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladébat had conformed to the order of Jeannet, to avoid the prison of Conanama. They had also engaged in what is called a settlement.—Some judgment may be formed, by the *lettre de cachet* of Burnel, who ordered them to be transported to Sinamary, in what respect these settlements were held;—and even if it were possible for the exiles to engage in the culture of land and commerce, how great would be the folly to undertake it in such a despotic government!—Hence it appears, that the permission to engage in such concerns was granted by way of derision; and, from the foregoing circumstance, a very just idea may be formed of the solidity of these settlements in Guiana, which have been so loudly vaunted in Europe. But after all, my two colleagues were detained in the hospital, with an occasional permission to go out. They availed themselves of their abode at Cayenne, to endeavour to fix themselves in its

environs. The spot which suited them best was in the Isle of Cayenne; and they accordingly addressed the following letter to the agent, to obtain his authority:

LAFOND-LADÉBAT *and* BARBÉ-MARBOIS, *to the Citizen Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana.*

Hospital of Cayenne, the 14th Ventôse.

CITIZEN AGENT,

If it is your intention to put an end to our confinement, which has continued since the 25th Nivôse, we beg your permission to establish ourselves in the plantation of Armorigue. We have seen all our companions in misfortune perish in Guiana, and it is our anxious desire that we may not be separated. The sickness which we have experienced, the weak state of Marbois, increased as it is by the unexpected journey from Sinamary to Cayenne, and the fear of relapse, always dangerous in this climate, require that we should be in the vicinity of Cayenne, and within reach of that medical aid which is exclusively attached to it.—The citizen P*** will be responsible for us, if our interest and character do not possess, in your

your opinion, ſufficient reſponſibility; we demand of you alſo, Citizen Agent, that this authorization may not be dated previous to the firſt of next Germinal. This delay is indiſpenſable, that we may have time to ſend for our effects from Sinamary.

" We have the honour to ſalute you.

" LAFOND-LADEBAT.

" BARBE-MARBOIS."

It is impoſſible to write with more circumſpection and civility. Nevertheleſs, the haughty Burnel was very much diſturbed, when he perceived that the letter terminated without the word *reſpect*; and he inſtantly gave orders that Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat ſhould depart for Sinamary, without allowing them the delay of a moment. I arrived at the hoſpital juſt as the order had been intimated to them. The officer, Moray, who had brought it, preſſed them with great carneſtneſs to depart; he ſaid that the delay of a quarter of an hour would bring his conduct in queſtion; and that the agent waited for him, to hear that they were gone. They were employed in making up their

little package in great haſte; and I was aſſiſting them, when a commiſſary came in, and demanded, in the name of the agent, 552 livres for their expenſes at the hoſpital, at the rate of 6 livres a day for each. The ſum was immediately paid. The good ſiſters of the hoſpital, very much grieved at this event, having ſtepped in at the ſame moment to take their leave of my colleagues; one of them, informed of the cauſe of this precipitate departure, ſaid to Marbois: "You ſhould add the words *ſalut et reſpect* (health and reſpect); the agent is very tenacious on this point."—"No, I cannot reſpect that man; let him ſhip me off for Sinamary."—"But you riſk your life for a mere word!"—"It is not a mere word that is here in queſtion, but an act of weakneſs; and if I committed an act of weakneſs to-day, Burnel would require from me an act of cowardice to-morrow." "I embraced my two friends, and they ſet off in an open canoe. "The waves," added Marbois, in a letter to his wife, "the waves waſhed over me repeatedly. The canoe, in which there was no ſeat, was filled with water to within a quarter of its depth. I paſſed the night in a cold bath, expoſed to the

wind, and I ſuffered moſt ſeverely. My ſever returned; and ſince the 16th, the day of my arrival, I have had ſeven violent attacks."

We muſt now ſee the manner in which Burnel gave an account of this incident to the miniſter: "At the time of the arrival of the Spaniſh frigates, which were at firſt taken for an Engliſh ſquadron, I had given orders for Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat, &c. to be brought to Cayenne, in order that I might ſecure their perſons. Being arrived at Cayenne, I cauſed them to be put into the hoſpital. They were there treated as well as I ſhould wiſh to be *in a ſimilar ſituation.* I gave them permiſſion to walk out morning and evening; they aſked me leave to go and ſpend two decades at a houſe in the vicinity of Cayenne: I allowed them to remain there three months. A few days after, theſe Gentlemen preſented to me a petition, very indecorous both as to its ſtyle and form. (The reader may form an idea of this indecorous petition; it is the letter which I have juſt tranſcribed.) I ſent them word that the repreſentative of the Executive Directory anſwered no petitions but what were drawn up in the ſtyle of *reſpect* which was

due to his character. I was informed that they had ſaid there was no longer any Directory ſince the 18th Fructidor; but, neverthelefs, its particular agent ſent them off *immediately* for Sinamary, *where they are watched.* Nothing can equal the impudence of M. Lafond, &c. In his mad fits, he ſtill conſiders himſelf Preſident of the Council of Elders, &c."

Is it poſſible to exhibit more meanneſs, cruelty, inſolence, and falſehood? What man in office would be ſo narrow-minded and ſelf-conceited as to take offence at a letter being concluded by theſe words, *nous avons l'honneur de vous ſaluer?* What man in office would be ſo cruel, as, on this ſlight pretext, to force thoſe who had written it to be precipitately embarked, without giving them time to provide for a thouſand indiſpenſable wants, and to cauſe them to be conveyed during the night, in an open canoe, to a diſtance of five and twenty leagues, through the dangers and inconveniences of the ſea? And this man alſo adds inſolence to barbarity! He calls Lafond-Ladebat's noble pride impudence; and taxes him with inſanity. Lafond-Ladebat accuſed of impudence and inſanity by Burnel!

What a change of ſcene! But would it not be ſuppoſed from the aſſertion of the agent, that while Lafond and Marbois were placed in the hoſpital, they had paſſed either three months, or two decades, at a houſe in the vicinity of Cayenne? The fact is, that they never came out of the hoſpital except to take a walk in the morning and evening, agreeably to the permiſſion which the agent had given them for that purpoſe. I ſhall not dwell on the error committed, reſpecting the Spaniſh frigates; I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving that they had no concern with the order for directing my colleagues to come from Sinamary, ſince they made their appearance only while they were at Cayenne. Some time after, the agent was pleaſed to pay them a viſit at Sinamary, in order to take from them their papers. The commanding officer of the poſt and a ſergeant, ſword in hand, inſiſted upon theſe being given up to them. In vain they wiſhed to have an inventory taken of them, and to get a receipt for them; every thing of the kind was refuſed, and the papers were taken away by main force.

In Burnel's letter to the miniſter is a para-

graph of too curious a nature to be paſſed over in ſilence. Burnel, after having mentioned that he had cauſed Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat to be brought from Sinamary, adds: "I ſhall leave to the care of the guard of the poſt all the pack of mongrel domeſtics that are breeding there. Theſe gentlemen have adopted the noble habit of thieving from one another. Among ſuch of the thieves as I have cauſed to be apprehended within theſe few days, is an old ſervant of the Houſe of Bourbon, who, no doubt from his attachment to that family, preſerves the remembrance of it on his ſhoulder. This gentleman is branded with a flower-de-luce."

Wretch! who thus makeſt a ſport of the unfortunate, doſt thou know who, in general, were thoſe men that thou calleſt a pack of mongrel domeſtics? They were prieſts, reſpectable from their age, from their virtues, and, above all, from their misfortunes. And as for thoſe thieves on whom thou laviſheſt thy footman-like jokes, why haſt thou the baſeneſs to generalize thy remarks? Thou kneweſt well, that theſe worthy prieſts were incapable of the

mean actions of which thou ſpeakeſt; thou kneweſt well that they did not thieve from one another, and that, on the contrary, they were conſtantly robbed by thoſe men condemned for ſtealing; by thoſe miſcreants with whom the Directory had had the infamy to aſſociate us. Doſt thou know what thou ſhouldſt have written to the miniſter, ſince it was thy intention to divert thyſelf? Thou ſhouldſt have communicated to him the following anecdote, known by all the deported perſons, and of which thou waſt not ignorant thyſelf; thou ſhouldſt have told him that the five thieves who came with me in *La Decade* frigate, gave themſelves the title of the Directory; that they each took the name of one of the five Directors; that they never called each other by any other name; that they alternately elected a preſident, and, that nothing might be wanting to the reſemblance, they were become the ſcourge of all that ſurrounded them.

The deported perſons who were at the depot of Sinamary, had very little communication with the negro cultivators. The deported perſons who were placed in private houſes had more

intercourſe with them; and as in this laſt claſs ſome were gratuitouſly accommodated in theſe houſes, and others experienced many acts of kindneſs from the proprietors, it will readily be conceived that what little influence they had over the negroes, they employed to the advantage of the coloniſts. This influence was limited to exhortations to labour. Yet who would believe that Burnel took it into his head to accuſe the deported perſons of diſſuading the negroes from work, and of endeavouring to diſſeminate confuſion in the colony? The following is an extract of the proclamation of the 4th Floreal:

"Enemies of the republic, which has been obliged to caſt you from her boſom, all you deported royaliſts, whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit and intrigues have (I cannot doubt it) produced all the dangerous movements which have well nigh ruined the colony, you ought not to expect to find your names mentioned in a proclamation addreſſed to French citizens; let your ſurpriſe ceaſe; I have only one word to ſay to you; it ſhall be harſh, but unambiguous, ſince every thing that *humanity*, reconciled with my duty, has induced me to do for you, has not been

ſufficient to obtain from the greater number the tranquillity which alone becomes your ſituation. I forewarn you that the firſt who ſhall be convicted of having fomented an inſurrection among the cultivators, and led thoſe credulous men to relinquiſh the labours which alone can repair the misfortunes of French Guyana, ſhall be tried as a diſturber, as an irreconcilable enemy of the colony."

We ſhould not get the better of our ſurpriſe at finding the word *humanity* in acts ſo inhuman, were we not long ſince accuſtomed to ſee words and deeds inceſſantly at variance. In the moſt unfortunate periods of the revolution, all the adminiſtrations, all the offices, all the walls were clothed with writings to this effect: VIRTUE, PROBITY, ARE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. Let any one read the debates of the Legiſlative Body, reſpecting our deportation, and the aſſimilation of the deported perſons to the emigrants; let any one read the meſſages, the proclamations, the decrees of the Directory; let any one read the correſpondence of the miniſter and of the agents, he will find nothing but "*clemency* and *humanity*." It is from *humanity* that we are

deported without being tried; it is from *humanity* that ſome of us are afterwards condemned to die, and our property confiſcated; it is from *humanity* that we are tranſported into the moſt unhealthy of climates; it is from *humanity* that the deported perſons are placed in the moſt unhealthy ſpot in this climate; it is from *humanity* that they are left in want of every thing, &c. Another remark which is nearly connected to the latter, is, that theſe terrible friends of humanity, in ordering death to be inflicted, take good care not to pronounce the word; they always make uſe of ſtudied expreſſions. Does the queſtion relate to the deported perſons who had been put into iron cages? They do not ſay that, in caſe of an inſult or attack on the part of any individual, the commanding officer will cauſe them to be ſhot, which would appear ſhocking, but ſimply that he will act in a military manner towards them, which is ſofter to the ear, and nevertheleſs leads to the ſame reſult. Does the queſtion relate to the deported perſons who have eſcaped from deportation? They do not ſay that theſe perſons ſhall be put to death, their wives and their children expoſed

to the horrors of indigence, which would appear exceſſively cruel; they ſay ſimply that they ſhall be aſſimilated to the emigrants; which preſents no bloody image, and ſtill leads to the ſame reſult. Laſtly, does the queſtion relate to the deported perſons of Guyana, againſt whom ſome atrocity is premeditated? They do not ſay that, in the caſe foreſeen, they ſhall be puniſhed with death, but ſimply tried as diſturbers, as irreconcilable enemies of the colony! After this, can it be ſaid that the men who have governed us are not the moſt humane and the moſt mild in nature?

Burnel's proclamation would not have given us much uneaſineſs, could we have been led to believe that it would be literally executed; for we well knew that we ſhould never be convicted, either of fomenting an inſurrection among the cultivators, or of inducing them to relinquiſh their labours; we were, moſt aſſuredly, very far from rendering ourſelves guilty of theſe crimes. But I was very far from entering into a conſpiracy on the 18th Fructidor, and yet I was not the leſs puniſhed as a conſpirator. I was afraid that Burnel, who began by calumniating us, might

end by making us the victims of his calumnies. However, he contented himself with ſending off, capriciouſly, two prieſts to Sinamary. One of them was the non-juring prieſt who had married him at Cayenne. In another capricious moment, he ordered them, a few days after, to return to their habitations. This voyage had like to have occaſioned their death.

There was in this proclamation an article concerning the inhabitants of Cayenne, which gave me a great deal of pain. The kind welcome that we experienced from them put the agent out of humour; he had been exceedingly hurt at the bad reception which they had given to twenty of his friends, whom the coloniſts of the Iſle of France had diſmiſſed, in order that they might not be revolutionized. Theſe deported perſons of another deſcription landed at Cayenne, and were not there looked on with a favourable eye. Burnel forced the inhabitants to furniſh them lodging and board. All this was done reluctantly and with a very bad grace. In order to be revenged, he added in his proclamation:

"Let thoſe headſtrong people who dare protect openly the enemies of the republic, take no-

tice that I know them all, and that I render them perſonally reſponſible for all the underhand dealings, deeds, and geſtures of thoſe they protect. Under a juſt government, good citizens alone ought to live in peace; the others ought always to ſee the ſword of the law ſuſpended over their heads."

Theſe threats effected no change among the worthy inhabitants of Cayenne. The more they had ſeen of us, the more they had learnt to know us, and the more they were confirmed in the wiſh of mitigating the fate of the deported. Tyranny may well command circumſpection; it compreſſes, but it does not annihilate the affections of the ſoul; it frequently even gives them more activity.

Twelve Belgic prieſts, and a layman of the depot of Sinamary, made their eſcape nearly in the ſame manner as Pichegru and his companions had done a year before. They procured a canoe and a pilot, and committed themſelves to the hazards of the ſea, which they dreaded leſs than the climate of Cayenne and the oppreſſion of the agent. I have heard that they had avoided Surinam, where they feared the effects of the

meaſures ſo ſtrongly recommended by Jeannet, and that they had repaired directly to Demerary, an Engliſh colony, where they had been exceedingly well received. I am ignorant what is become of them. Their eſcape was attended with no ſerious conſequences to us.

Jeannet was very cruel to the deported perſons: he opened the letters which they wrote, and thoſe which were addreſſed to them; but at leaſt he cauſed the former to be forwarded, and the latter to be delivered; and many of us, in his time, received letters from France. From the moment that Burnel was at the head of the colony, our correſpondence was entirely intercepted and ſuppreſſed, and there no longer exiſted any intercourſe between us, our wives, our children, or our friends; we were dead to each other. We were not better informed of the events of Europe; not only did he chooſe to gratify himſelf with the barbarous pleaſure of letting us remain ignorant even of the exiſtence of the deareſt objects of our affections, but beſides, he no longer ſuffered any thing to tranſpire of what was paſſing in that hemiſphere. To the ſufferings which we endured, he added the

moſt cruel of all, the torment of ſuſpenſe in regard to what was of moſt importance to us to know. He would have been vexed to death had the huſbands and fathers learnt that their wives and their children were ſtill living. As ſoon as a veſſel had anchored in the road or in the harbour, detachments were ordered to bring the new-comers, without allowing them to ſpeak to any one whatſoever, before the agent, who inſiſted that all papers, as well public as private, ſhould be given up to him; prohibited others from being delivered under the moſt heavy penalties; commanded the moſt perfect ſilence to be obſerved, or ſuggeſted the falſe news that he wiſhed to ſpread. When a veſſel left the colony, he informed the captain, that, if he took charge only of a letter without his knowledge, and that he happened to diſcover it, he would not ſuffer him to ſail. When every thing was embarked, he ſent people on board to make the moſt minute reſearches. However, tyrants exert themſelves to no purpoſe; there are always to be found perſons bold enough to undertake to deceive them, and dexterous enough to ſucceed. Some of this deſcription, departing for Europe,

took charge of our letters, and contrived to conceal them from the inquiſition of the agent.

It is more eaſy to take away private letters, and to deprive the unfortunate perſons, to whom they were addreſſed, of the conſolation which they would have afforded them, than to prevent the circulation of public news; a captain may be made to hold his tongue, but it is difficult to ſilence his crew; accordingly we were informed, although in a very imperfect manner, of the affair of the 30th Prairial; we knew that three Directors had been forced to give in their reſignation; and as we are fond of flattering ourſelves, we did not doubt that this event would be attended with happy conſequences for us. The agent was not eaſy in his mind; the fall of his protectors gave him ſome inquietude. He knew alſo that the American papers had painted, in very glowing colours, the frightful fate of the deported perſons, and made ſome very juſt, but very ſtrong, reflections on the barbarity of Jeannet. Fear tamed him; he gave notice that the deported perſons, even thoſe of the depot of Sinamary, who on account of their health, or even of their affairs, wiſhed to come and ſpend

ſome time at Cayenne, ſhould obtain permiſſion for that purpoſe, on condition of providing for their own wants, of preſenting themſelves, on their arrival, to the commandant of the place, and of mentioning the houſe that they ſhould inhabit. A very ſmall number was able to take advantage of this intimation.

At the ſame time, Lafond-Ladebat's correſpondent at Surinam, being informed that no letters were delivered to the deported perſons, took his meaſures ſo well, that he cauſed to be tranſmitted to him, at Sinamary, a packet arrived from Hamburg, in which was the decree, authorizing our colleagues who had eſcaped from deportation, to repair to the Iſle of Oleron. Lafond was informed of the names of thoſe who had conformed to this decree, and it was obſerved to him that no doubt was entertained of its being applicable to the deported perſons remaining at Cayenne. He haſtened to inform me of this important news, obſerving to me that he coincided in the opinion which was expreſſed to him in regard to us, and that he thought that the firſt veſſel belonging to the ſtate, that ſhould arrive from France, would be charged to convey us to

the Iſle of Oleron. We ſo eaſily believe what flatters us, when probability is in our favour, that I did not heſitate to adopt the ſame opinion. Our friends anſwered, that it was on the information that had been received of the mortality of the deported perſons at Cayenne, that the Directory ſubſtituted Oleron. How was it poſſible not to believe that thoſe who had ſuffered moſt, would be comprehended in a meaſure which ſeems dictated by humanity? However, the truth was, as I have learnt ſince my return, that this decree did not in any reſpect refer to us. The Directory having reckoned that all thoſe whom they had ſent to Guyana would be buried there, did not think it incumbent on them to include us in it. Beſides, we were miſinformed as to the motives. It was not to remain definitively at Oleron, that our colleagues were attracted thither; they were placed there only proviſionally; they were for a long time afraid of being ſhipped thence for Guyana; and it is exceedingly probable that, but for the affairs of Prairial and of Brumaire, they would have ſhared our deſtiny, and that one half of them would not at this day have been in exiſtence.

Under the idea of my approaching recall to Oleron, I requeſted and obtained permiſſion to come to Cayenne, in order to make there the arrangements neceſſary for my departure. I did not fail to put at the bottom of my petition, *ſalut et reſpect* in very large letters; and I was ſo firmly perſuaded that I ſhould ſhortly ſail for France, that I took away every thing that I had in the houſe, to which I bade my laſt adieu. It may well be imagined that this was not a very melancholy ceremony. Berthollon expected me with impatience. He received me at his houſe, and made me almoſt forget the miſeries and the *tædium* which I had endured for upwards of a year in my frightful ſolitude. I preſſed Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat to come and join me. They wrote to the agent with civility, but without *reſpect*. The agent returned them no written anſwer. He ſent them word, by the commandant of the poſt, that they might come for three months. They accordingly came, and brought away every thing that they had at Sinamary, thoroughly perſuaded that before the expiration of this delay we ſhould be ſent for and carried to Oleron.

It is more eaſy to imagine than to deſcribe the ſenſations I experienced in my ſituation, from the falſe opinion which I had conceived. Since the 18th Fructidor, not to go farther back, I had been proſcribed, ſhut up for a month in the priſon of the Temple, dragged from dungeon to dungeon, from Paris to Rochefort, confined for ninety-ſix days in the between-decks of a frigate, a prey to all the horrors of the moſt fatiguing paſſage, put into a place of confinement, exiled for upwards of a year, to an inſulated habitation in the middle of the woods, without any other company than blacks, monſters, reptiles, inſects, &c. and receiving no news of my family, learning every day the death of my companions in misfortune, and expecting every moment to follow them to the grave. I was in this frightful ſituation, in which man, overwhelmed by the weight of miſery, does not even preſerve hope, when, all at once, I find myſelf tranſported into a country inhabited by obliging men, who receive me with eagerneſs, and endeavour to prove to me, by the moſt delicate conduct, that my honourable perſecutions are for them a new title to eſteem and benevolence. I ſee myſelf on the

eve of quitting the fatal land which has devoured ſo many victims, and from which I could hardly much longer eſcape; I am on the point of enjoying the happineſs of drawing nearer to my country, my wife, my children, and my friends. This was a ſecond reſurrection, as unexpected as that which I experienced at the death of Robeſpierre, and yet it was not the laſt. I was again to undergo the moſt cruel trials, and an event, which did not exiſt, was wanting to realize my hopes.

I ſaw Barbé-Marbois and Laſond-Ladebat as often as I poſſibly could, and I felt myſelf honoured by the friendſhip which they expreſſed to me. Knowledge, ſoundneſs of principles, courage, honeſty, amability—I found all theſe qualities in theſe two extraordinary men, who have made me paſs ſome very delightful moments. I lodged in what is called *the town of Cayenne*, which, in point of population and buildings, is not to be compared to many of our villages. They lodged in what is called the Savannah, which is like the ſuburb. I went regularly every day to pay them a viſit, from ſix o'clock till eight, and from four till dark. We walked on

the ſea-ſhore, caſting our eyes forward to the ſide whence veſſels arrive from Europe. Did we perceive in the diſtance a ſchooner, ſometimes even a ſimple canoe, our hearts beat, and we took it for a ſhip of the line. This error was not of long duration, and Lafond's glaſs ſoon deſtroyed this illuſion; at firſt this was a ſubject of amuſement to us, but time gaining ground without our ſeeing any thing appear, uneaſineſs intruded on our minds: I expreſſed it ſometimes with vivacity. Lafond participated in it not a little; the unſhaken ſerenity of Barbé-Marbois calmed my impatience.

In the mean time a great many cauſes combined to augment my inquietude. The Engliſh had made themſelves maſters of Surinam, and had juſt carried on the iſlands which are between Cayenne and Sinamary a poſt, that the agent had had the imprudence to place there. He immediately declared the colony in a ſtate of ſiege, and put every thing in requiſition *. He ſent for

* Proclamation of the 9th Vendémiare, 8th Year.

ARTICLE FIRST.

The colony is declared to be in a ſtate of ſiege.

ARTICLE SECOND.

All private and public property, all the individuals who inhabit

the greater part of the blacks who were in the houſes, formed them into a battalion of ſharp-ſhooters, and took ſuch meaſures, that he ſpread conſternation in the mind of the inhabitants, and among the battalion of whites, the remains of the regiment of Alſace. The moſt ſiniſter views were attributed to him; and in order to prevent them, the inhabitants forced him to diſband his battalion of ſharp-ſhooters, to diſmiſs the commandant that he had given them, and to put an end to the ſtate of ſiege and of requiſition. He yielded in a rage, and promiſing himſelf to be revenged. They did not allow him time. I have learnt that he had been ſhipped off; but I then feared ſome great cataſtrophe would befall the colony; and it appeared to me evident that the deported perſons would be the firſt victims, thoſe who had been conſtantly repreſented to the blacks as the enemies of their liberty, and whom the agent had held out in his proclamation as the principal cauſes of all the troubles.

French Guyana, all the means of every ſort which it furniſhes, are in requiſition for its defence, and remain ſo ſubject till a new decree.

For a long time Berthollon's wife had been attacked by a pulmonary conſumption, which had reſiſted every remedy. The phyſicians had given her over, declaring, however, that her only hope was in a change of climate, and that, perhaps, the air of Europe might be favourable to her. Berthollon had reſolved to go thither. The agitation of the colony determined him to haſten his departure. He made arrangements for himſelf, his wife, and their child, who was a little girl two years and a half old, with a captain of American origin, who was to ſail in a few days for Gothenburg, in Sweden. There was no choice; this was the only veſſel of which he could avail himſelf; he thought that thence he ſhould eaſily find means to return to France. This departure grieved me exceedingly; I ſaw myſelf deprived of a friend whoſe abſence would be very painful to me, if I were ſtill to remain long at Guyana.

At length I was attacked by illneſs. I had already had a fever in the houſe; it returned at Cayenne. I had recourſe to different remedies, which did not effect a cure; fears were entertained that it would degenerate into a ſlow fever.

I was not free from uneaſineſs on this point, and the frequent mortality of the deported perſons whoſe graves ſurrounded me, was not calculated to diſſipate my apprehenſions.

Struck with the dangers of my bad health and of the agitations of the colony, uneaſy at Berthollon's departure, and at not ſeeing any veſſel arrive from Europe, perſuaded that I was authorized to repair to Oleron, and apprehenſive of falling before I departed, I formed the reſolution of ſeeing the American captain, named *Gardner*, and of propoſing to him to take me on board his veſſel. He acceded to my propoſal; he afterwards gave his conſent to take Perlet, who was alſo at Cayenne, and the Canon Parizot. We ſettled the price of the paſſage, and agreed on the means of execution. I ſhould have ardently wiſhed to be able to include Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat in the project; but on this point I knew the reſolution which they had both formed, never to make their eſcape; a reſolution in which they appeared to perſiſt more ſtrongly than ever, ſince they flattered themſelves with being recalled to Oleron. I therefore thought it uſeleſs to mention it to them.

While I was engaged in the neceſſary preparations, the agent ſuddenly took it into his head to make me ſet off from Cayenne for the habitation I formerly occupied. The commandant of the place ſent for me, and, under a frivolous pretext, ordered me to embark that minute. I told him that my arrangements with Germain no longer exiſted, that I had definitively quitted his habitation, and that I knew not where to go. He went to the agent for further orders. "In four and twenty hours," ſaid he to me, on his return, "you muſt procure a habitation, or you ſhall depart for Sinamary; in the mean time you ſhall remain under arreſt, guarded by a *gendarme*." A friend of Berthollon's, named *Dubois*, whom I had frequently ſeen, and of whom I have great reaſon to ſpeak well, inſtantly offered me an aſylum. I accepted it, and was preparing to go thither, when the agent ſent for me, and confirmed to me himſelf the order for my departure, occaſioned, he ſaid, by the circumſtances in which the colony was placed. I was never able to learn rightly the reaſon of this caprice, which ſurpriſed me the more as it regarded me alone; I always ſuſpected ſome

falſe report. Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat came to ſee me in ſpite of my arreſt, and I ſet off the next day, after having laid my ſcheme ſo that this circumſtance might not prevent my eſcape. I ſoon ſaw that it was more likely to favour it, for, by remaining at Berthollon's houſe, I ſhould have attracted attention at the moment when he embarked, and my non-appearance might have occaſioned ſome ſuſpicions; whereas being out of Cayenne, I was very ſure that I ſhould not be thought of, and that I ſhould more eaſily execute my project.

Inſtead of going to Dubois' houſe, I ſtopped at the habitation of Madame Daudiffreddy; I became acquainted with her only during the latter part of my ſtay at Guyana, and I received from her the greateſt civilities. We were in cloſe correſpondence: I have ſeen few perſons write with ſo much grace and facility. I was perfectly well received by her, and yet I did not think myſelf bound to let her into my ſecret, which I had reſolved to impart to no one. It was at her own houſe, and in chatting with her family, that I wrote to her, as well as to Dubois, to communicate to her my intended eſcape. I was afraid

that it might involve them both with the agent. I penned my letters in ſuch a manner, that they were plauſible, and might ſoften him. I alſo wrote to Barbé-Marbois and to Lafond-Ladebat, and I took meaſures in order that all theſe letters might not be delivered till after my departure.

When the moment was arrived, Perlet came for me in a boat conducted by two negroes, whoſe ſilence we purchaſed. We went and took up Parizot in the neighbourhood, and we arrived againſt the tide, and rowing with all our might, on board of the veſſel, the *Phaeton*, a brig of about two hundred tons burden, which was lying in the harbour of Cayenne. This took place in the night between the 3d and 4th Brumaire. We were received by the boatſwain, whom the captain had apprized of the matter. He ſhowed us the place of concealment in which we were to remain till the veſſel had gained an offing. It was a very roomy place, encumbered with baggage, placed on purpoſe to hide us. We were there nearly as in the between-decks of *La Decade*; but we promiſed ourſelves that we ſhould not be ſo for ſuch a length of time, and

the hope of a better fate made us bear the uncomfortableneſs of our ſituation.

Berthollon had ſhipped our trunks and our baggage as belonging to him. He came on board himſelf with his wife and his child in the morning of the 4th Brumaire. A ſailor belonging to the Sables-d'Olonne, named *Baradeau*, alſo came on board. An old ſoldier of the regiment of Alſace, accuſed of having held ſome diſcourſe againſt the agent of the government, was brought off to the brig: and laſtly, a negro man and woman who were to be tried for murder, but whom Burnel preferred ſending out of the country to cauſing them to be tried, in order to ſcreen them from the ſword of the law. Berthollon's numerous friends came to ſee him, and dined on board; they repeatedly viſited the different parts of the veſſel where his wife, his child, and he were to ſleep, where he had placed his baggage, &c. The mayor and the commiſſary of the Directory alſo remained there a great part of the day, and viſited the ſame places, each giving his advice, either to approve the diſpoſitions made, or to make ſome change in them. Baradeau in particular, who wiſhed to put his effects

in order, placed them and removed them inceſſantly : all this paſſed by the ſide of our place of concealment, and made us every moment apprehenſive that we ſhould be diſcovered. Perlet had a violent fit of the ague, and vomited ſeveral times with efforts much too noiſy for our ſituation. Fortunately, we were neither ſeen nor heard. We likewiſe eſcaped the eye of the officers who came to pay the viſit cuſtomary on the departure of ſhips. At three o'clock in the afternoon all the viſitors went away, and the laſt anchor was weighed; but the wind ſuddenly failed, and we were obliged to drop it again at fifty toiſes from the place we had left. Let the reader imagine the anxiety we felt at this unlucky circumſtance.

In the evening it was announced that there was a boat coming on board, in which was a gendarme. We thought ourſelves diſcovered, and we did not doubt that he was the bearer of orders for ſuſpending our departure. Luckily, his miſſion did not regard us ; and paſſing from fear to hope, we flattered ourſelves that we ſhould ſail the next day, 5th Brumaire (27th of October), at the firſt of the ebb, which was to take place between three and four o'clock in the

morning; but there was not a breath of wind, and we were under the neceſſity of waiting for the evening tide.

In the courſe of the day there were a great many freſh viſits, and conſequently freſh cauſes of uneaſineſs. At noon came a pilot, charged to carry us out of the road. At length, at four o'clock, with a favourable tide and a pretty freſh breeze, we weigh anchor, we ſail out, and we bid a hearty and laſt farewell to this execrable land. At ſix o'clock the pilot returned on ſhore, and half an hour after the captain, who had not been able to refuſe to take on board the male and female negro aſſaſſins, but who had fully reſolved not to carry them away, gave up to them a ſmall boat, in which they embarked, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction as well as to ours. They were to land in the night on the coaſt of Macouria, whither they were drifted by the currents. We iſſued forth from our retreat, bathed in ſweat, and breathed the open air, which reſtored us our ſtrength. Had our abode there been protracted a little longer, I doubt whether we ſhould have been able to ſurvive the confinement.

After having offered up our thankſgiving to

the Supreme Being, Parizot, Perlet, and myſelf embraced each other, as men who had juſt miraculouſly eſcaped from death. We had no longer any thing to fear from the agent, and we ſaw Guyana's leſſening ſhore aſtern of us, with feelings very different from thoſe we had experienced when we ſailed from the coaſt of France. A melancholy reflection, however, came and damped our joy. It was occaſioned by a retroſpect on the fate of our companions in misfortune, whom we left behind us. Above all I very warmly regretted Barbé-Marbois and Lafond-Ladebat, with whom I was more particularly acquainted. We could only put up our prayers for them. O! how ſincere and ardent were they! they have been heard in regard to my two worthy colleagues; they will be alſo heard, I have no doubt, in favour of the other unfortunate exiles. It is impoſſible that a humane government can ſanction the acts of barbarity which have been committed by an atrocious one, and it would really be to ſanction them, to leave any longer the remaining few of theſe unfortunates in that unhealthy country.

On the 6th, at break of day, it was no longer

in ſight, and we continued our voyage with tolerably favourable winds; every one made his arrangements to be as little uncomfortable as poſſible. What a difference between our preſent ſituation and that on board *La Decade!* what pleaſure we felt in drawing the compariſon! In the firſt place, and this was what affected us moſt, inſtead of going into exile in the new world, we were drawing near to the old one, which contained every thing deareſt to our exiſtence. We no longer ſaid, as on our departure from France—

Nos patriam fugimus, et dulcia linquimus arva.

In the next place, we were here quite at our eaſe, and pretty well ſupplied in point of food; for, when the plan was reſolved on, Berthollon undertook to lay in the neceſſary ſtock of proviſions. Laſtly, what was very agreeable, no one tyrannized over us, there was no one ſinging in our ears—*Tyrans, deſcendez au cercueil, &c.* Every kind attention that can be ſhewn on board a ſhip we experienced in the moſt obliging manner. We were in all twenty-one perſons; namely, Berthollon, his wife, and their child, Baradeau, Parizot, Perlet, and myſelf; the captain, a young

man of five and twenty, employed by a commercial houſe at Gothenburg, and thirteen foremaſt-men, including the ſoldier of the regiment of Alſace, who ſhifted as well as he could. This was a medley of all nations. There were ſome Anglo-Americans, a Spaniard, a Dane, a Scotchman, ſome Engliſhmen, and three negroes; and nevertheleſs all theſe people lived on the beſt footing.

During my ſtay at Cayenne I had ſometimes ſaid to the men on whom I could rely, and who, like me, were lamenting the tyranny of Burnel, that if ever I arrived in France I would make known the barbarous manner in which the deported perſons were treated. They offered to procure me the correſpondence of the agents; I thought it incumbent on me not to refuſe their offer. It was accordingly furniſhed to me, and I brought it away as an extremely valuable gift. I afterwards entruſted it to the care of the captain, in order that, if I was diſcovered and apprehended in my flight, it might involve no perſon, and might ſerve others for compoſing the hiſtory of our deportation. It will be ſeen in the ſequel that this precaution, taken for an occaſion which

did not happen, was ſerviceable to me on one which I had the leaſt foreſeen.

On the 19th Brumaire we croſſed the tropic, and were that day becalmed; it was very fine weather. Two events fixed our attention, and in the courſe of the morning relieved us from the tedium of the voyage.

It is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in all ſhips to give what they call the *chriſtening of the tropic* to thoſe who have not yet croſſed it. This chriſtening conſiſts of a copious immerſion, more diſagreeable than dangerous in a mild climate. Paſſengers purchaſe their exemption by a ſmall pecuniary fine, but the people belonging to the ſhip are very ſcrupulouſly ſubjected to it, and in a manner much more rigorous than the paſſengers. This is the manner in which I ſaw it practiſed on three ſailors: they were at firſt ſhut up in the hold, whence they were taken out one after the other, blindfolded. They were ſecurely tied with ropes; there were put to them ſeveral queſtions, which I could not underſtand, becauſe they were in Engliſh. On their anſwers, their faces were beſmeared with ſomething very dirty; then they were hoiſted over the ſide by means of

ropes running through blocks, and were repeatedly ducked in the ſea. The two firſt were very much affected at the ceremony; whenever they came out of the water they uttered cries of deſpair. The laſt, who was a negro, took the matter very gaily; ducking him was to little purpoſe, he always came up laughing: but he preſently experienced a fright better founded than that of his ducked companions.

I have before obſerved that it was calm; the ſea was as ſmooth as glaſs; the ſails were lying flat againſt the maſts; the veſſel appeared motionleſs. The day was very fine, and the weather very hot. The pleaſure which the negro had experieneed in being in the water, had ſuggeſted to him the idea of taking a bath of much longer duration, and he jumped overboard. He ſwam very well; but ſcarcely had he remained there a minute, when he diſcovered that the veſſel, which had not the appearance of making the ſmalleſt movement, was nevertheleſs advancing ſufficiently to leave him behind. He made incredible efforts to overtake her, but in vain. He then uttered cries which made us perceive his danger. Every one haſtened to ſuccour him; we threw him

ſome ſpars, to which he clung; we hove to, and two of his ſhipmates having leaped overboard, carried with them a ſmall rope, which they all three made uſe of to return on board. He had been near half an hour in this ſituation, and he was about two hundred yards from the ſhip. The ſervice that was rendered him did not long avail him; it will preſently be ſeen that his deſtiny was to periſh.

The next morning, the 20th, the wind ſprang up again, and we perceived, in the courſe of the day, three veſſels that gave us ſome uneaſineſs; we were afraid of being plundered, or at leaſt carried back again to America. Perhaps they entertained, in regard to us, the firſt of theſe fears. However this may be, we did not endeavour to approach each other; and in the evening we entirely loſt ſight of them. I recollect that this night, not being able to ſleep, I went upon deck, where I enjoyed a grand ſight. The firmament appeared to me all on fire, from midnight till about four o'clock in the morning. It ſeemed to the eye that all the ſtars were detaching themſelves from it, in order to traverſe it in different directions, purſuing and croſſing

each other every ſecond, or, to ſpeak more correctly, without intermiſſion, and leaving behind them a long train of light, which diffuſed a very great brightneſs. The moment when the cluſter of a grand firework has juſt been let off, and a great many ſky-rockets thrown into the air, may afford a juſt idea of the ſtate of the ſky during this fine night*. I again went upon

* The ſame phenomenon was obſerved at Cayenne. The following is an extract which has been recently communicated to me, from a journal kept in that colony:

"In the night between the 20th and 21ſt Brumaire (11th and 12th November), about half paſt three o'clock in the morning, the ſky appeared lighted by the moſt brilliant fires. Some perſons even aſſert, that this phenomenon began about midnight. The fires had the appearance of what are called *ſhooting ſtars*; but they left a very lively trace. They croſſed each other in every direction. Some roſe from the horizon, particularly in the north and weſt quarters. When, for a few moments, the moon, which then ſhone, was veiled by ſome clouds, the ſcene became more magnificent and more ſtriking. It ceaſed only with the firſt dawn of day. No noiſe was heard. This is one of the moſt beautiful phenomena that has been obſerved; and it is to be wiſhed that it may be aſcertained in what parts of the globe it has appeared. The ardent imagination, and the ſuperſtition of the blacks, made them ſee the ſtrangeſt objects. Some ſaw a hole in the moon; others, a

deck the following night, but I no longer perceived any thing ſimilar.

On the 6th Frimaire we met another veſſel, which ſpoke us. She was an American, and was bound to the United States. She told us that ſhe came from Copenhagen, whence ſhe had ſailed forty-ſeven days. We were in the fortieth degree of latitude, on the edge of the banks of Newfoundland. The two captains having communicated to each other their longitude by account, found a difference of twelve degrees. We had reaſon to believe, in the ſequel, that the error was on our ſide, and that we were much farther to the weſtward than we imagined.

On the 15th we were in latitude 60° north, abreaſt of the paſſage to the northward of the Orkneys. The captain aſſured us, that with a good wind he would carry us to Gothenburg in

great man ſurrounded by children at his knees; others, a crown. Several of them are exceedingly alarmed."

However puerile may be theſe remarks of the blacks, I have no difficulty in believing what is related of them in this journal. They are, as I have already ſaid, extremely ſuperſtitious.

five days. This news gave us great ſatisfaction; but ſoon after the wind beginning to blow freſh from the eaſtward, it was no longer poſſible to attempt this paſſage. The captain got a good way to the northward, and for about twelve days he did nothing but ply to windward from the ſixtieth to the ſixty-third degree in the parallel of the Iſles of Ferro and Shetland. The wind having come round again to the weſtward, he ſhaped his courſe towards the ſame paſſage, but as he had made a miſtake in his longitude, we were ſeveral days without reaching it. At length, on the 5th Nivoſe, land was diſcovered, amid the acclamations of the crew. The next day we loſt ſight of it; we doubled the Orkneys, and entered the north part of the German Ocean. On the 10th we made the coaſt of Norway, which was covered with ſnow. I ſhall not forget, however, that the wind having fallen, and the ſun being unclouded, the temperature of the air was ſo mild, that we had ourſelves ſhaved and got our hair dreſſed upon deck, moſt of us being ſtript to the waiſt. Two days after, every thing was frozen on board the veſſel, and we were afraid of being locked in among the ice.

What a change for men who came from a burning climate, and who, having recently left the equator, found themſelves, in the depth of winter, tranſported near the pole!

I remarked that we had very hot weather to the thirtieth degree, that the heat was temperate to the fortieth, that the cold from that time began to be perceptible, that it was become very ſevere, from the fiftieth to the ſixtieth, that it was much more ſupportable beyond that parallel, a very aſtoniſhing thing, and that it reſumed all its aſperity when we were off the coaſts of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland. In ſhort, in the whole paſſage I ſaw nothing, beſides the veſſels of which I have ſpoken, except flying-fiſhes beyond the tropic, a few ſhoals of porpoiſes in different latitudes, a whale about the fifty-third degree, a vaſt number of aquatic birds from the banks of Newfoundland, and laſtly, a very great quantity of that ſpecies of ſea-weed called *fucus natans*, and which we met with from the twentieth to the fortieth degree.

Notwithſtanding the calm of the 10th Nivoſe, the currents occaſioned us to make a little pro-

greſs, and drifted us towards the rocks of Norway. On the 11th we were only a ſmall diſtance from them, not without ſome apprehenſion of ſtriking on them, by which we ſhould have been irrecoverably loſt, the coaſt being barren and inacceſſible in this part. Fortunately we contrived, by dint of manœuvring, to reach the Cattegat, there to run new dangers; for on the 13th, at dawn of day, we were not three ſhips lengths from the Scaw; ſcarcely had we time to put about, the wind becoming contrary to us, when we were only about twelve leagues from Gothenburg, which harbour we thought we ſhould enter in the courſe of the day. The captain attempted to put into Chriſtiana. We approached very near this town, which was concealed from us by the fog, and as the wind had freſhened, the fear of being wrecked on the coaſt thickly ſtrewn with rocks in this very narrow channel, determined the captain to regain the German Ocean, and to take ſhelter in ſome port in Scotland, whither he was carried by the wind.

We had juſt twice ſucceſſively eſcaped the moſt imminent dangers; we were a hundred

leagues from the port which we wiſhed to gain. The weather was dreadful. We were almoſt continually in the dark, having no more than ſix hours daylight; and, to complete our miſfortunes, we were almoſt in want of every thing. The captain had affirmed that the paſſage would be performed in about ſix weeks; Berthollon had laid in three months proviſions for himſelf, his wife, his child, Parizot, Perlet, and me; Baradeau had laid in his own; but the captain had a very ſlender ſtock; he had reckoned upon that of his paſſengers, and it was at our expenſe that he ſtill ſubſiſted his ſervant and his boatſwain. During the firſt forty days, the captain had been inceſſantly flattering us with a ſhort paſſage, and we denied ourſelves nothing. We were not more careful of our water. Thence it happened that at the end of two months we had very little, that we had no more freſh meat, and but a ſmall quantity of wine and *tafia*, the latter of which we kept to refreſh the ſailors when on hard duty, and that at laſt we were reduced to the daily allowance of a biſcuit, a bit of ſalt pork, and a glaſs of water. In this ſtate of diſtreſs, which laſted a fortnight, we were

running, in the midſt of the moſt terrible ſtorm, towards the coaſt of Scotland, with which no perſon on board was acquainted, having in ſome meaſure before us only the frightful proſpect of periſhing for want, or of being driven on ſhore. On the morning of the 18th we made the land, and as we were carried towards it by a very violent gale, we put the veſſel's head to the northward, in order to range along it, ſo as to avoid coming too near it till we had been able to diſcover ſome port. Standing on, we perceived, at the diſtance of a league, a veſſel which had juſt been caſt on ſhore, and which we have ſince learnt was entirely loſt with all her crew. We continued our courſe, and diſcovered a-head of us another veſſel towed by four boats that were conducting her towards a place which our captain took for the harbour of Montroſe, and which was that of Fraſerburg. He ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and hoiſted a ſignal to call on board a coaſting pilot, but no one having appeared, and night coming on, he ſtood into a bight, on the larboard hand, forming a ſort of bay, in which he thought himſelf in ſafety. We were not a quarter of a league from the

land ; there were only five fathoms water ; we let go the anchor, in hopes of entering the harbour the next morning.

In the mean time the ſea continued to be boiſterous, and the veſſel was toſſed about almoſt as much as before. The captain ordered a ſecond anchor to be let go, about two o'clock in the morning of the 19th of Nivoſe, a day, the remembrance of which I ſhall long bear in my mind. The ſea ſtruck the veſſel with ſo much violence, that the water broke in abundance upon the deck, and frequently found its way down the ſcuttle into the between-decks. This accident at firſt took place only every quarter of an hour ; but about four o'clock it became ſo frequent, that the captain, being apprehenſive of foundering, ordered the cables by which we were riding to be cut, approached within a muſket ſhot of the coaſt, and dropped the ſheet anchor, the only one that he had left. This manœuvre did not much better our fate. The waves were as frequent, and became ſo violent, that about ſeven o'clock the cable of this laſt anchor parted, and we were driven on ſhore. We ſtruck repeatedly, and at every ſtroke we thought that

the veſſel would go to pieces. Fortunately this did not happen; for although we were very near the land, not one of us would have eſcaped; but the veſſel having opened in ſeveral places, and the water ruſhing in on all ſides, we were obliged to go upon deck, whence we diſcovered at fifty yards from us, as the day appeared, the inhabitants of Fraſerburg, who ſeemed very much concerned at our alarming ſituation, but none of whom durſt attempt to come to our aſſiſtance. At this we were more afflicted than ſurpriſed. It in fact appeared impoſſible to croſs this ſpace, full of rocks, againſt which the ſea was breaking with the greateſt violence. Not one of the ſailors had the courage to expoſe himſelf to its fury.

The ſea was dreadful; it was perfectly white with foam; the waves, which ſucceeded each other without interruption, roſe to a prodigious height, and all thoſe which were impeded by the veſſel, finiſhed by breaking over her, with a terrible noiſe. We were ſoon covered with water, whatever precautions we took to ſhelter ourſelves from it. About ten o'clock an attempt was made to get out the long-boat; but whether

ſhe was badly launched by our men, who were benumbed with cold, or whether the ſea did not allow them to manage her properly, ſhe filled. They tried in vain to bale her out; but they were under the neceſſity of quitting her. The impulſe of the ſea threw her on the rocks which lined the coaſt, and againſt which ſhe was daſhed to pieces.

The waves, which were continually ſtriking us on the ſtarboard ſide, had imperceptibly heeled the veſſel, and had obliged us to take refuge on the higher ſide, that we might not be entirely under water. As long as the deck preſented only a gentle declivity, we could, without much difficulty, keep our place; but ſome freſh waves having, about noon, entirely laid the veſſel down on her beam ends, ſo that the mainmaſt was in a horizontal poſition above the water, and might have ſerved as a brow to get very near the ſhore, had it not been continually covered by the waves; our ſituation became frightful. We were all hanging to the ropes and to the rings of the ſtarboard ſide of the veſſel, and it was only with incredible pains and efforts

that we avoided falling down into the part that was under water.

Chance had at firſt placed me near the companion. I held faſt by a rope, but I was very near an open port; the waves breaking through this port covered me every inſtant from head to foot. I was as completely ſoaked as if I had been wholly in the ſea. To avoid this inconvenience, inſupportable at this ſeaſon, and in this climate, I thought that I might avail myſelf of the ſhort interval of the ceſſation of the waves, to paſs beyond this port, and put myſelf a little farther on, in a place where the weather-boards, which formed a ſort of pent-houſe, might afford me a little ſhelter. The diſtance was not quite ſix feet; it was impoſſible for me to croſs it; and had I not met with the capſtern, to which I clung faſt, I ſhould have fallen on the lower ſide, and have been infallibly drowned.

Scarcely had I remained a moment in this place, when a ſailor, who, perhaps, had come there from the ſame motive, and in the ſame manner, incommoded me exceedingly. To complain would have been as unjuſt as uſeleſs. I again endeavoured to reach the ſtarboard ſide,

by means of the ropes which were upon deck; this attempt was as unſucceſsful as the former. I was carried away by the ſlope of the deck, and I had the good fortune to get faſt hold of the pump, which ſerved me for ſome time as a point of reſt; but the ſhaft of this pump had already ſtarted from its place near three feet; the weight of my body ſtill helped to draw it farther out. I quitted this dangerous poſt to take one where I was not much leſs expoſed. I leant againſt the main maſt, which was cloſe by, and which, by its weight and poſition, made the planks where I was lying crack every inſtant.

Such was my laſt aſylum, in which, being no longer ſheltered by the weather-boards, I was waſhed by all the waves that ſtruck the veſſel. Twenty times in the courſe of the morning I had drained the water out of my boots; but here I was up to my knees in it, and the upper part of my body was as wet as my legs. I have no idea how they eſcaped being broken by the fall of the trunks, barrels, and other very heavy bodies which were floating about in the veſſel, nor how I avoided being cruſhed to death by the weight of the ſeas which were falling on me

without interruption, in the form of water-ſpouts. The ſailors, who ſpoke Engliſh, did not ceaſe to implore the aſſiſtance of the numerous ſpectators. The latter made them anſwers which I did not underſtand, but I judged very well by their geſtures, that they were exceedingly diſtreſſed at not being able to afford us any ſuccour. I afterwards ſaw arrive on the beach twenty men carrying on their backs a boat. I have ſince been informed that they had fetched it from the harbour, at the diſtance of upwards of a mile. This ſight gave me ſome hope.

In the mean time I felt myſelf exhauſted by fatigue and faintneſs; my ſtrength forſook me. I glanced my eyes around me; what a ſpectacle preſented itſelf to my view! I firſt ſaw two negro ſailors floating at my feet—they were dead; one of them was he who had like to have periſhed on our croſſing the tropic. I caſt my looks to the left, I perceived Berthollon's wife and child; they were dead. I turned then to the right, and ſaw Parizot with his head thrown back, all the waves breaking over him, without his making the ſmalleſt movement; he was dead. I envied their fate, and I thought, for half an hour, that

my prayers were on the point of being heard. Already the cold, which had benumbed me, threw me into convulſive agitations, that announced a very near end. Already frequent yawnings, which I took for the approaching ſigns of death, perſuaded me that I was faſt verging to the cloſe of my earthly career, when about three o'clock, and at a moment when I neither expected nor wiſhed for aſſiſtance, I perceived on the beach, a young man naked, who plunged into the ſea, which was become ſomewhat ſmoother. In a little time he was in the midſt of us.

He ſwam off with a rope faſtened to that boat which had been recently brought. By means of this rope, the ſailors hauled on board the boat, in which ſeveral perſons were put. Another rope fixed to the ſhore, ſerved to draw back the boat in a diagonal direction, and to prevent her from driving on the rocks which were oppoſite the veſſel. She made a ſecond trip, in which I was included; I had not ſtrength ſufficient to quit my place; two ſailors took me from it, and put me into the boat half dead. I was brought on ſhore ſenſeleſs; ſix men carried me, like a corpſe, into an inn; with much difficulty they

forced open my teeth, to make me ſwallow ſome cordial; they cut off all my clothes, which clung cloſe to my body; they put me into a warm bed; two naked men placed themſelves by my ſide, in order to regenerate vital heat; and by every exertion which their humanity could dictate, I was reſtored to life.

Receive my thanks, generous George Milne, who bravedſt the icy cold of the ſea, the fury of the waves, and the repreſentations of thy parents to ſave us! We have been informed that his father and mother uſed every effort to reſtrain him by the fear of the danger which he was going to incur. "Yes," ſaid he to them, "I know that it is poſſible that I may periſh, but I know that it is certain that thoſe people, whom we ſee dying, will all periſh, if they are not ſpeedily aſſiſted." He tore from their arms, and flung himſelf into the ſea. Receive my thanks too, worthy and humane inhabitants of Fraſerburg, who have taken ſo much intereſt in our misfortunes, and vied with each other in laviſhing on us the moſt hoſpitable kindneſs! And you, reſpectable Lord Inverury, receive my thanks; you who, by every attention which our

ſituation required, neglected nothing to mitigate our misfortune! your generous and noble ſoul is above national prejudices. It is ſufficient to be unfortunate to have a claim to your beneficence.

About eight o'clock I had recovered my ſenſes, and felt my ſtrength revive, when I found this Lord at the head of my bed. He ſpoke French very well, and ſaid every thing that it is poſſible to imagine moſt obliging to one in my ſituation. He gave me an account of ſome of my ſhipwrecked companions, who, being leſs expoſed to the waves, had ſuffered rather leſs than I had; he aſſured me that he would ſee me again the next morning, and recommended me ſtrongly to my landlord. His recommendation was the more valuable, as he was the principal magiſtrate of Fraſerburg, as the delegate of the Duke of Gordon, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Aberdeen.

Lord Inverury was the firſt perſon that I ſaw the next morning when I awoke. I had paſſed a pretty good night; but my legs were bloody, and very much ſwelled, my hands benumbed, ſo as to make me fear that they were froſt-nipped, and my whole body was bruiſed. I wiſhed

however to quit my inn, where no perſon underſtood me, and to join my companions in misfortune, who had been received by Mr. Dalrymple.

As ſoon as my ſtrength permitted me to get up, this Lord had the goodneſs to procure me clothes, ſupport me during the walk, and to conduct me to Berthollon, Perlet, and Baradeau, whom I found extremely fatigued. The firſt was ſunk into the moſt profound grief. He had loſt his wife and his child; and although he was at this time ſenſible only to this loſs, it was aggravated by that of part of his fortune which had periſhed in our ſhipwreck. He was worthy of a better fate.

The ſame day, the 20th Nivoſe, the veſſel which we had ſeen on the 8th towed by ſome boats, and which had not been able to enter the harbour, was caſt away by the ſide of ours. One ſailor periſhed on this occaſion. The captain died in conſequence of the fatigues and hardſhips which he had endured; we were told that all the coaſt of Scotland was covered with the wrecks of veſſels caſt away during this gale, which laſted near a fortnight. Our brig went entirely to pieces.

We loſt almoſt all our property: what little was reſcued from the wreck was extremely damaged. The captain ſaved a caſk, containing his money, his papers and mine, which I had delivered to him on our ſailing, and in which I found the materials employed in this narrative. Since then I have ſeen the remains of my trunk, which had been knocked to pieces; I found only a ſhirt and a pocket-handkerchief. That is all I had left. I learnt that I was on the point of ſuffering a loſs which would have involved me ſtill more. All my reſource was in a girdle which I wore, in order to conceal my money from the crews of the privateers that we were afraid of meeting. When I was ſtripped in the inn, this girdle was thrown on the reſt of my clothes. Among the ſpectators was a diſhoneſt man, who ſeized hold of it and made his eſcape. Fortunately it was miſſed in time, ſome perſons ran after him, and made him give it up. It was faithfully reſtored to me.

At Fraſerburg we firſt heard, from Lord Inverury, of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. This news was a very ſalutary conſolation to us in our misfortunes. With what joy did we not

ſee our country eſcaped from the new convulſions with which ſhe was threatened! What prayers did we not offer up for the ſucceſſes and glory of the aſtoniſhing man who had recently delivered her from her moſt cruel enemies? It is to you, Bonaparte, that the nation owes its liberty to breathe; it is on you that ſhe builds her hopes. Your genius and fortune have placed you in the moſt happy ſituation. Conſolidate the tranquillity which you cauſe us to enjoy; give us peace; gratify the wiſhes of all good Frenchmen.

From this moment I did not doubt that my proſcription would ceaſe. I had left Cayenne with an intention of repairing to the Iſle of Oleron. I now conceived the hope of perfect liberty. While I was indulging this idea, Lord Inverury came in overjoyed, with a newſpaper in his hand. "Your name," ſaid he, "is in this paper; you are recalled to Dijon with M. Paſtoret;" and he read to me the decree of the 5th Nivoſe. Nothing could be more agreeable to me than this intelligence. I ſaw however with pain, that the juſtice which was rendered to us did not extend to all the victims. I hoped that

the political conſiderations which might have commanded a few exceptions, would not be of long duration, and I ſhall preſerve this hope as long as I ſhall not renounce the ideas of greatneſs, and above all of juſtice, which I delight to diſcover in him who can put an end to them.

Lord Inverury made us the moſt generous offers. My ſhipwrecked companions, as well as I, had ſaved their money, and we all were in the happy ſituation of not being obliged to avail ourſelves of his offers. He then wiſhed at leaſt to ſecure us from the avidity excited every where by foreigners who are ſuppoſed to be in eaſy circumſtances. He himſelf agreed on the price of our clothes, our lodging and board, and diſdained not to enter into the ſmalleſt details. Being obliged to quit us, to go and ſee one of his friends, who had been wounded in the campaign in Holland, he ſent to beg Mr. Caruthers, a Scotch Catholic prieſt, to come and keep us company. This good and worthy eccleſiaſtic, who lived three leagues from this place, immediately came at his Lordſhip's requeſt. He had ſtudied theology at Douay, and ſpoke French very well. He was of great ſervice to us in a

country where we could not make ourſelves underſtood, and took the greateſt intereſt about us. We are indebted to him for our acquaintance with the Miſs Farquharſons, Scotch Catholics, who loaded us with civilities. He was above all the interpreter of our gratitude to our deliverer Milne, whom we often claſped to our boſom, and to whom our hearts ſpoke the moſt eloquent of languages; but it was very pleaſing to us, after dumb ſcenes, to have it in our power to converſe with him. In ſhort, as ſoon as we were able to begin our journey, we quitted this hoſpitable country, pouring out on it our benedictions. May you, worthy inhabitants of Fraſerburg, ever be happy! but ſhould your deſtiny reſerve one of you for misfortunes ſimilar to thoſe which we have experienced on your ſhores, may you find men who reſemble yourſelves!

We had determined to return to France through Scotland and England; this was the ſhorteſt route. We firſt went to Aberdeen. Lord Inverury had given us letters for this town. Mr. Caruthers would accompany us thither. We made this journey together, which is fifty miles. The news of our ſhipwreck had preceded us: we

were well received there. The commandant of the troops invited us to dinner, the table was well ſerved, and after dinner the company ſat drinking till dark: the moſt philanthropic toaſts were drunk, ſuch as the Happineſs of ſuccouring the unfortunate, Univerſal fraternity, &c. &c. It may well be conceived that we returned the compliment as well as we could, and that we did not forget either the beneficence of Scotchmen, or the virtues of hoſpitality, &c.—We were taken to the concert; our eyes were more ſatisfied than our ears; the muſicians were leſs than indifferent, the women were more than pretty. The Scotch women are tall, well made, and have a fine colour: what an impreſſion muſt not the bloom of their complexion, and the vivacity of their looks, have on perſons whoſe imagination was ſtill ſoiled with the yellow, livid, copper-coloured, ſwarthy, and black complexions of Cayenne! But they did not ſtand in need of theſe objects of compariſon to appear to us handſome.

At Aberdeen I ſaw ſome Scotch Highlanders, who have preſerved nearly the Roman dreſs: they wear a ſhort petticoat, which comes half

way down the thigh; they have ſtockings that reach to the middle of the leg, and the intermediate ſpace is entirely naked. I at firſt thought that they had leather pantaloons, but on a cloſer view I perceived that they wore nothing of the kind; ſurely it is very ſtrange that ſuch a cuſtom, at beſt ſupportable in warm climates, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſuch cold countries; what is certain is, that the Scotch Highlanders are very partial to it; and it has never been poſſible to make them entirely relinquiſh their favourite garb.

The population of Aberdeen may amount to five and twenty thouſand ſouls; it is a ſea-port of conſiderable trade; manufactures flouriſh there; the town is daily becoming larger and receiving embelliſhments; we are aſſured that, within the laſt ten years, it has increaſed one third; the new quarters are built in an agreeable manner.

We ſeparated from our good friend Mr. Caruthers, who undertook to carry our laſt farewell to George Milne, and our letters to Lord Inverury; we then ſet off for Edinburgh, diſtant a hundred and twenty miles. We travelled this

road in four and twenty hours. We did not purpoſe making any ſtay there; but the Lord Advocate declared to us that he could not give us paſſports without the authority of the Duke of Portland. He wrote to him; I wrote to him alſo, and it was neceſſary to wait.

I availed myſelf of my ſtay to viſit the capital of Scotland. Its population conſiſts of about eighty thouſand ſouls; it is commanded by a caſtle, in which were French priſoners of war, whom I could not ſee. The palace of the kings of Scotland is by no means magnificent; but there is an air of grandeur in its ſimplicity. The portraits of the kings and queens of that country, up to a very remote period, are placed in a vaſt gallery. The old town contains nothing remarkable; it has no public monuments worthy of attention. Its court of judicature, its libraries, its churches, its places of public amuſement, are very indifferent; but the new town is really very handſome. No building can be erected there but in conformity, as to the exterior conſtruction, to the plan given by the adminiſtration for its embelliſhment. The ſtyle is ſimple, but in a

good taſte; the whole is of hewn ſtone, of a gray colour, ſomewhat reſembling ſlate. The ſtreets are very ſpacious, and lined with broad footways; the doors are of choice wood of different colours, ſome even of mahogany; the windows glazed with large panes, and ornamented with ſilk curtains. Almoſt all the ground floors are laid out in ſhops, which are kept in the greateſt order. The part which commands the harbour affords a grand proſpect. This harbour is pretty large and very much frequented. It was full of merchant-veſſels. Ships of war cannot enter it. Theſe remain in the road, where I ſaw ſeveral.

Its inhabitants apply themſelves very much to trade, which is conſiderable at Edinburgh; they are humane and obliging, but rather reſerved in their manner. Their morals appeared to me pure; the greateſt decorum reigns in the ſociety of the women; equivocal expreſſions are thence ſtrictly baniſhed. The Scotch are very religious; they are rigid obſervers of the Sabbath. On that day it is neither allowable to ſing, to dance, nor to play, not only in public, but even in pri-

vate houſes; and this prohibition is not infringed.

We received, by return of poſt, a favourable anſwer from the Duke of Portland, and we ſet out for London. Perlet and Berthollon went by the mail coach; it goes very quick, and travels night and day. We had appointed to meet in London, whence however they had departed when I arrived there. I accompanied them to their carriage; and I recollect that the miſtreſs of the coach-office where they paid for their places, ſuppoſing us to be people of great conſequence, ſaid to us in her language, which was inſtantly tranſlated to us, "Well, gentlemen, ſince you are going to France, do me the pleaſure, when you get there, to give us peace." This wiſh for peace we found predominate in all the part of Scotland and England that we travelled through. Baradeau and I took ſhipping at Leith. I confeſs I could not determine to adopt this plan without much repugnance. The very recent recollection of my ſhipwreck made me ſtill ſhudder; but by going by ſea I ſaved ten guineas; and the immenſe loſſes that I had ſuſ-

tained, and the little fortune that I had left, did not allow me to neglect economy. I therefore again committed myself to that boisterous element. The voyage lasted about ten days; what an immense quantity of vessels I saw in this passage! But when we entered the Thames, it was one entire forest.

On landing, I went to the Duke of Portland's; he is minister of the department which regards foreigners. He was in the country; M. Flint, who officiated in his absence, received me with the greatest politeness. He had been informed of my shipwreck, and inquired into the particulars. After having listened to them with the greatest attention, he made me offers, respecting which I had the happiness of having only to thank him. "You may stay in London," said he to me, "as long as you please; when you are disposed to depart, I will deliver you a passport. None are given by way of Dover; but you will find no difficulty in procuring a passage in a neutral vessel on the Thames." I did not neglect looking for one bound to Calais; but it was a fortnight before I succeeded. I employed this time

in viſiting London; this grand city is too well known for me to attempt to deſcribe it.

I here ſaw a great many emigrants, and I met with few who did not wiſh to return to France, there to live quiet and unknown. The two men with whom I had moſt intercourſe are Malouet and Lally-Tolendal. They unite to great talents, a love for their country and for true liberty. I was very ſeldom out of the company of Malouet; Lally-Tolendal, who reſides at Richmond, invited me to go and ſee him: I went thither, and ſpent a very agreeable day with him. Richmond is one of the fineſt ſituations in England, and Lally-Tolendal one of the moſt amiable men I ever knew.

As ſoon as I could procure a paſſage, I obtained a paſſport from the polite M. Flint, and I took my leave of him. I went to Graveſend, to wait the arrival of the veſſel in which I was to croſs the ſea; I embarked on the Thames, and arrived at Calais the 29th Ventoſe (20th March). It is impoſſible for me to expreſs all that I felt on ſetting my foot on the ſoil of France. A perſon muſt have been proſcribed, he muſt have loſt the hope of reviſiting his country, to appre-

ciate ſimilar ſenſations. May it be the period of its too long protracted convulſions! May the new government heal all the wounds which theſe convulſions have inflicted! May all Frenchmen no longer have to dread arbitrary meaſures, and may they find in the laws that ſecurity, without which no ſociety can exiſt!

Alphabetical List of Deported Persons, embarked on board la Vaillante, *the 1st of Vendémiaire, Year 6, in conformity to the Law of the 19th Fructidor, Year 5.*—N. B. *The figures denote their Age at the Time of Embarkation.*

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Aubri. François, 49	Député au conseil des anciens	Paris	Seine	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6, died at Demerary.
Barbé-Marbois. François, 53	Dép. au cons. des anc.	Metz	Moselle	recalled to Paris
Barthélemi. François, 50	Directeur	Aubagnes	Bouches-du-Rhone	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Berthelot la Villeheurnois. Ch.-Honorine, 48	M. des requêtes.	Toulon	Var	died the 10 Thermidor year 6
Bourdon de l'Oise. François-Louis, 37	Dép. au cons. des 500	Petit-Roui	Somme	died the 4 Messidor year 6
Brottier. André-Charles, 46	Aumon. de Monsieur	Taunoy	La Niêvre	died the 26 Fructidor year 6
De la Rue. Jean-Etienne, 33	Dép. au cons. des 500	Lozon	La Creuze	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Dossonville. Jean-Etienne, 45	Inspect. de police	Honay	Eure & Loire	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Lafond-Ladébat. André-Daniel, 50	Dép. au cons. des anc.	Bordeaux	La Gironde	recalled to Paris
Letellier-Marais, 40	Attaché à Barthélemi	Fresnoi-le-Bâtard	Orne	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Murinais. Antoine-Auguste-Victor, 66	Dép. au cons. des anc.	Murinais	Isère	died the 27 Frimaire year 6
Pichegru. Charles, 36	Dép. au cons. des 500	Arbois	Jura	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Ramel, Philippe-Jacques-Pierre, 30	Commandant de la garde de l'assemblée	Fontaine	Lot	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6
Rovère, Joseph-Stanislas, 49	Dép. au cons. des anc.	Bonieux	Vaucluse	died the 25 Fructidor year 6
Tronçon-du-Coudray, Guillaume Alexandre, 45	Dép. au cons. des anc.	Rheims	Marne	died the 4 Messidor year 6
Willote. Amédée, 50	Dép. au cons. des 500	Béfort	Haut-Rhin	escaped the 15 Prairial year 6

Alphabetical List of Deported Persons embarked on board la Charente, *March* 12, 1798, *who were moved to* la Décade *on the 25th April following, and landed at Cayenne, June* 13, 14 *and* 15, 1798.

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Abailard. Pierre-Joseph, 40	Vic. de Noire-Terre	La Rochelle	Deux-Sèvres	
Adam. Jean-Nicolas, 50	Bernardin	Paris	Seine	dead
Agaise. Henri, 25	Clerc tonsuré	Nantes	Loire-Inférieure	died the Fructidor year 7
Aymé. Jean-Jacques, 46	Dep. au cons. des 500	Montelimard	Drôme	escaped the 5 Brumaire year 8
Bailli. Jean-Baptiste, 37	Bénédictin	Strasbourg	Vosges	died the 2 complément. year 6
Bassières, Louis-Raphaël, 32	Cocher	Neuville	L'Orne	
Beauvais. (Daniel de) Louis Marie, 47	Militaire	Le Mans	Sarthe	
Becherel. Augustin, 45	Vic. de Villepot	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	dead

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Belouet. Jean-Baptiste, 48	Curé de Chancei	Langres	Côte d'Or	dead
Bernard. Cazimir, 26	Laïc	Chartres	Eure & Loire	
Bernard. Modeste, 56	Prêt. de St. Jean de Dieu	Poitiers	Vienne	died the 19 Vendémiaire year 7
Bertrand. Henri (Malachie), 42	Bernardin	Trêves	Forêts	died the 3 Vendémiaire year 7
Billard, Etienne, 49	Curé de Guyancourt	Laon	Aisne	died the 7 Nivôse year 7
Bodin. Mathurin, 52	Curé de Voide	La Rochelle	Maine & Loire	
Bonnery. Pierre-Vincent, 50	Curé de S.Barthélemi	Beziers	L'Hérault	
Bossu. Louis-Augustin, 39	Graveur	Paris	Seine	died the 16 Nivôse year 7
Botterf. Marc, 40	Vic. de la Roche-Bernard	Nantes	Morbihan	died the 26 Fructidor year 7
Bouchard. Pierre-André, 46	Curé de Lisle	Tournay	Jemmappes	died the 21 Brumaire year 7
Bouché. Jean, 48	Curé de Saar-Albe	Metz	Moselle	
Bougeard, Jean-Baptiste, 35	Vicaire d'Effendi	Saint-Malo	Isle & Vilaine	died the 5 complément. year 6
Bourdois. Marie-Edme-Eloe, 45	Vicaire de Fleuri	Sens	Yonne	died the 28 Vendémiaire year 7
Brodin. Pierre-Julien, 34	Vicaire de Pyré	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	
Brémen. Antoine, 53	Curé de Surey	Bourges	Cher	dead
Bretault. René-Pierre, 56	Curé de Coesme	Angers	Maine & Loire	died the 14 Brumaire year 7
Bridaut. Jean-Baptiste, 49	Cocher	Paris	Seine	
Broli. François-Joseph, 58	Curé de Montfeinhem	Strasbourg	Haut-Rhin	died the 20 Vendémiaire year 7
Brochier. Hugues-Joseph, 20	Domestique	Grenoble	Isère	
Brunegat. Pierre, 50	Vicaire de Bazoches	Luçon	Vendée	died the 22 Fructidor year 6
Brus. Jacques, 50	Curé de Pichaudiere	Lavaur	Tarn	
Caillat. Calixte, 30	Prêtre de Lauzerthe	Cahors	Lot	dead
Capon. Michel, 26	Menuisier	Paris	Seine	
Cardine, 42	Curé de Vilaine	Paris	Seine	dead
Carel. Jean-Charles, 48	Dominicain	Metz	Moselle	died the 7 Frimaire year 7
Carval. Jean, 45	Vic. de Planchant	Quimper	Finistère	
Chachai. Laurent, 34	Chanoine régulier	Saint-Diez	Vosges	
Claudon. Jean-Claude, 63	Capucin	Toul	Vosges	
Clavier. Xavier, 52	Frère de 7 Fonts	Autun	Allier	
Colas. Louis, 37	Cultivateur	Dol	Isle & Vilaine	died the 27 Pluviôse year 7
Collenot. Jean-Louis, 48	Prêtre de ——	Vannes	Morbihan	
Colloquin. Pierre, 37	V. de Vienne-le-Ch.	Rheims	Marne	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Colné. Joseph-Dieudonné, 43	V. du chapitre	Saint-Diez	Vosges	
Colus. Jean-Nicolas, 47	C. de Vamécourt	Nanci	Vosges	dead
Combaut. Jean, 44	V. de St. Paul	St.-Pol-de-Léon	Finistère	died the 18 Vendémiaire year 7
Cormier Jean-Baptiste, 40	Bénédictin	Chartres	Eure & Loire	
Custer. Nicolas, 30	Récollet	Namur	Forêts	
Dargent. Christophe, 41	Ouvrier	Paris	Seine	
Davi. Jean-Alexandre, 32	V. de Ville-l'Evêque	Angers	Maine & Loire	
Daviot. Denis, 50	Capucin	Besançon	Haute-Saône	
Daviot. Jean-François, 48	Bernardin	Besançon	Haute-Saône	dead
Daviot. Nicolas, 32	Bénédictin	Besançon	Haute-Saône	
Debruyne. Jean-Baptiste, 32	Curé de St. Quentin de Louvain	Malines	Dyle	died the 5 complément. year 6
De la Croix. Julien, 37	Principal du collége	Dol.	Isle & Vilaine	
Delaitre. 37	Principal du collége de Neufchâteau	Rouen	Seine Inférieure	
Déluen. Jean-François, 60	Prêtre	Nantes	Loire-Inferieure	dead
Demazures, J. Gaspard M., 56	Curé de Rohaire	Chartres	Eure & Loire	died the 3 Vendémiaire year 7
Denoinville. Albert, 45	Curé de Vincy	Laon	Aisne	dead
Denouail, Vincent, 57	Prêtre	Vannes	Morbihan	died the 1 Nivôse year 7
Demier. Jean-François, 42	Vicaire de Tracq.	Albi	Tarn	
Deprés. François, 45	Chan.de Dun-le-Roy	Bourges	Cher	died the 11 Vendémiaire year 7
Desroland. (Rabaud), 36	Chanoine régulier	Poitiers	Vienne	dead
Doazan. François, 53	Curé de Marcai	Poitiers	Vienne	died the 24 Pluviôse year 7
Doru, 66	Chan. de Châteaudun	Chartres	Eure & Loire	
Drouet. Pierre-Ftançois, 38	Vicaire de Landron	Luçon	Vendée	
Dubois. Jean, 60	Curé de Pierrefitte.	La Rochelle	Deux Sèvres	died the November 1799
Dujarier. Jean-Julien, 43	Curé de Javron	Le Mans	Mayenne	
Dulaurent. Jean-Jacques, 55	Homme de loi	Quimper	Finistère	
Dumont, 45	Curé de Berseac	Périgueux	Dordogne	
Dupuis. Jacques, 46	Oratorien	Beauvais	Aisne	
Duval. Guillaume, 40	V. de St. Pazane	Nantes	Loire-Inférieure.	
Duval. Jean-Claude, 49	Chan. de St. Pierre	Soissons	Aisne	dead
Fvard, Jacques, 40	Chanoine de ——	Chartres	Eure & Loire	dead
Feutrai. Jean, 42	Trinitaire	Paris	Seine	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Fleurance, Joseph, 44	capucin	Saint-Diez	Vosges	died the 22 Nivôse year 7
Fournier. Hugues, 42	chartreux	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	dead
Francilleu (Pincillon) Mathieu, 67	vigneron	Besançon	Jura	died the 26 Fructidor year 6
Frère. Jean-François, 42	chan. de S. Radegonde	Poitiers	Vienne	died in September 1798
Friquet. Alexandre, 54	tailleur	Arras	Pas-de-Calais	died the 6 Vendémiaire year 7
Gaillard. Julien, 30	eudiste	Coutances	Manche	dead
Garnesson. 45	curé de Conautré	Châlons-sur-Marne	Marne	died the 16 Frimaire year 7
Garnier, Jacques-François, 33	prêtre	Chartres	Loir & Cher	
Géran. Jean-Nicolas, 42	bénédictin	Metz	Moselle	dead
Germon. Jean-Mathias, 40	vicaire de Talmon	Luçon	Vendée	
Gibert Desmolières. 52	dép. au cons. des anc.	Paris	Seine	dead
Givri. (Destournelles de) Jean, 28	chevalier	Laon	Aisne	
Godet. Charles Louis, 32	vicaire du coin	Laon	Aisne	
Grandemanche. Hyacinthe, 40	chapelain de Gigné	Saint-Diez	Vosges	
Cueri de Lavergne. Gab.-Marie-François, 52	ancien gendarme de la gendarm. du roi	Luçon	Vendée	
Guin. Claude-François, 45	lazariste	Besançon	Haute-Saône	died the 13 Nivôse year 7
Guyot. Ignace, 33	v. de Tinnecourt	Toul	Vosges	died the 28 Brumaire year 7
Havelange. Jean-Joseph, 45	recteur de l'université de Louvain	Malines	Dyle	died the 20 Fructidor year 6
Hayes. (de la) Julien, 49	c. de Pont-l'Evêque	Lisieux	Calvados	
Humbert. Jean-Baptiste, 40	trinitaire	Toul	Vosges	died the 18 Nivôse year 7
Huon. Aimé, 25	militaire	Quimper	Finistère	dead
Hurache. Louis-François, 61	curé de St. Marc-la-commune	Soissons	Aisne	dead
Hurel, 36	perruquier	Versailles	Seine & Oise	dead
Huybrecht. Pierre-François, 49	curé de la cathédrale	Gand	Escaut	dead the 18 Fructidor year 6
Jardin. François, 40	vic. de St. Solange	Bourges	Cher	
Jumillac. (Chapelle de), 47	chanoine de	Toul	Meurthe	
Kerautem, Jean-Louis, 50	militaire	Quimper	Finistère	died the September 1799
Kéricuf, 47	chan. de St. Denis	Paris	Seine	dead
Kerckof, 40	v. de Montaigu	Malines	Dyle	dead
Lainé. Jean, 50	curé de St. Julien de Vouvante	Nantes	Loire-Inférieure	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Lapanouze, 40	vic. de Rabastein	Albi	Tarn	died the Prairial year 7
Lapotre Mansui, 39	prémontré	Toul	Vosges	died the Prairial year 7
Laudier. Pierre	coiffeur	Paris	Seine	dead
Lay, 33	vic. de Turagues	Comminges	Hautes-Pyrénées	
Lebail. Alexis, 43	vic. de Sulnac	Vannes	Morbihan	died the 8 Frimaire year 7
Leboursicault. Pierre, 36	vicaire de Sazzau	Vannes	Morbihan	died the 22 Frimaire year 7
Leclerc. Nicolas, 29	cordonnier	Chambéri	Mont-Blanc	
Leclerc-Vaudone, 50	bernardin	Langres	Haute-Marne	dead
Lecorre. Alexis, 31	diacre	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	died the 23 Pluviôse year 7
Le Diffon. Charles, 38	prêtre	Vannes	Morbihan	
Lediveleck, Louis, 52	archiprêtre	Vannes	Morbihan	died the 22 Vendémiaire year 7
Leger. Jean-François, 54	curé de Villerbieu	Orléans	Loire & Cher	died the 30 Brumaire year 7
Legueult. Thomas, 47	vicaire de Dourdan	Chartres	Eure & Loire	
Lejoli, 52	curé de Plimei	Saint-Brieux	Côtes-du-Nord	
Lemaître. Jean, 42	bernardin	Nantes	Loire-Inférieure	died the 26 Fructidor year 6
Lepape. André, 43	vic. de St. Tropime	Quimper	Finistère	died the 20 Vendémiaire year 7
Leroux. François, 50	domestique de l'évêque du Mans			dead
Lhuillier, 39	augustin	Paris	Seine	
Lortec. Jean-Joseph-Pascal, 50	prêtre de la Merci	Toulouse	Haute-Garonne	died the 23 Fructidor year 6
Loyal. Charles, 66	apothic. de Bitche	Metz	Moselle	dead
Margarita. Gaston-Marie, 37	vic. de St. Laurent	Paris	Seine	
Marolle. Jean, 37	chartreux	Limoges	Creuse	died the October 1799
Materion. Toussaint-Pierre, 49	curé d'Ignogles	Bourges	Cher	
Mathieu, Jean-Charles, 36	prêtre	Saint-Diez	Vosges	died the 25 Fructidor year 6
Mauri. Gabriel, 45	curé de Montomier	Bourges	Cher	
Mazurié. Jean, 39	officier de marine	Saint-Pol-de-Léon	Finistère	
Michonnet, 33	officier d'infanterie			
Montagnon. Grégoire-Joseph. 47	curé de Villerpater	Besançon	Haute-Saône	died the 29 Brumaire year 7
Muller. Nicolas, 41	prof. de Luxemb.	Trèves	Forêts	died the 21 Fructidor year 6
Musquin. Pierre-Bernard, 43	curé de Pont-sur-Vannes	Sens	Yonne	died the 6 Frimaire year 7
Naudau, 49	curé de Tessonnières	La Rochelle	Deux-Sèvres	
Nerinks, 22	novice capucin	Malines	Dyle	escaped the 12 May 1799
Nogue. René, 44	curé de Blesmois	Saint-Malo	Isle & Vilaine	
Noiron. Hilaire-Auguste, 49	curé de Mortier	Laon	Aisne	
Nourry, 19	cordonnier	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	
Nusse. Jean-François, 47	c. de Chavignon	Soissons	Aisne	dead
Oudaille. François-Augustin, 39	c. de Luzarche	Paris	Seine	dead

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Paigné. Guillaume-Jean, 46	c. de Sauniers.	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	[in Scotland, 9 Jan. 1800
Parizot. André, 49	chantre & chanoine	Auxerre	Yonne	es. 5 Brum. year 8, shipwr. and died
Pavec. Yves, 47	vic. de Plogonac	Quimper	Finistère	
Pavie. Jean-Hilaire, 32	vic. de Faye	Angers	Maine & Loire	
Pelletier. Felix, 41	curé de Prunière	Orléans	Loire & Cher	
Perlet. Charles-Frédéric, 40	journaliste	Paris	Seine	escaped the 5 Brumaire year 8
Picard. Mathieu, 59	curé de Rupreux	Sens	Seine & Marne	died the 15 Thermidor year 7
Pierron. Jean-Pierre, 50	curé de Villers-le-Sec	Châlons sur Marne	Marne	
Pillon. René-Pierre, 48	curé de St. Marc-sous-Ballon	Le Mans	Mayenne	dead
Pillot. Adrien-Henri, 33	vicaire de St. Cristophe	Poitiers	Vienne	
Pitou. Louis-Ange, 30	chanteur	Paris	Seine	
Planchan. 35	vicaire de St. Salvi	Albi	Tarn	
Poirsin. Henri, 56	capucin	Verdun	Meuse	died the 12 Brumaire year 7
Pradal, 32	prêtre	Albi	Tarn	dead
Prévigneau. (Trudert), 52	curé de St. Florent-de-Niort	Saintes	Charente Inférieure	died the 20 Vendémiaire year 7
Prigeant. Jean-Guillaume, 39	vicaire de Glomet	Quimper	Finistère	
Prodon. Charles, 50	chan. de la St. Chap.	Dijon	Côte-d'Or	
Ragueneau, 47	capucin	La Rochelle	Deux-Sèvres	
Raimbeau. César-Auguste, 56	curé de Bruleau	Blois	Loire & Cher	died the 29 Prairial year 7
Renard. Joseph, 32	perruquier	Saint-Malo	Isle & Vilaine	
Roulands. Norberts, 48	bernardin	Anvers	Deux-Nèthes	died the 15 Brumaire year 7
Romelot. Jean-Louis, 47	sous-chantre	Bourges	Cher	
Rossignol, 54	vicaire de Bassol	Laon	Aisne	dead
Roussel. François-Genevieve, 57	génovefain. c. de S. Frou-de-Neuilli	Soissons	Aisne	
Roux. Jean, 48	chanoine de Léré	Bourges	Cher	dead
Royer. Nicolas-Joseph, 35	vicaire de Villotte	Toul	Vosges	died the 3 Pluviôse year 7
Saint-Aubert. Louis, 52	maréchal expert.	Paris	Seine	
Saint-Privé. Jean-François, 45	curé de Champ	Saint-Diez	Vosges	dead
Santerre. Jean-Marie, 47	vicaire de Grand-Champ	Nantes	Loire Inférieure	dead
Sartel. François-Gabriel, 50	bernardin. C. de N. D. de Gand	Gand	Escaut	died the 13 Nivôse year 7
Scher. Alexandre, 63	prêtre	Cologne		died the 16 Vendémiaire year 7
Schiltz. Dominique, 57	interprète	Luxembourg	Les Forêts	died the 18 Fructidor year 6
Séguin. Nicolas, 48	curé de St. Martin	Chartres	Eure & Loire	died the 22 Vendémiaire year 7
Sergent. Pierre, 29	laïc	Lyon	Rhône	
Sourzac. Jean, 53	curé de Sollignac	Limoges	Haute-Vienne	died the 28 Thermidor year 6
Taupin. Pierre, 46	distillateur	Tréguier	Côtes du Nord	escaped the 12 May 1799
Ténébres. Alexis-Charles-François, 55	curé de Croix-de-Vic.	Luçon	Vendée	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Thevenet, 48	chan. de Cuiseaux	Saint-Claude	Jura	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Thevenet. 48	chan. de Cuiseaux	Saint-Claude	Jura	
Thomas. 58	chan. de Maximien	Saint-Claude	Jura	dead
Toupeau. Nicolas, 24	domestique			died the 18 Vendémiaire year 7
Tremaudan. François, 22	noble	Saint-Brieux	Côtes du Nord	died the 12 Brumaire year 7
Trollé. Charles, 38	vicaire de Naucray	Sens	Seine & Marne	
Vaillant, 46	curé de Vierzon	Bourges	Cher	
Vallée. Alexis-Jean, 45	curé de Plahenel	Vannes	Morbihan	died the 24 Vendémiaire year 7
Vautrot. Etienne, 62	prieur bénédictin	Besançon	Haute-Saône	
Venati. Jean, 55	prémontré	Laon	Aisne	died the 6 Brumaire year 7
Vermon, 28	commis marchand.	Paris	Seine	
Villette. Jean-Louis, 46	boutonnier	Lyon	Rhône	dead
Wagner. Jean-Michel, 32	prêtre	Trêves	Forêts	
Wandersloten. Ferdinand-François, 43	curé de Tannehout	Anvers	Deux Nèthes	died the 1 Frimaire year 7
Wancanwberghe. Jean-Baptiste, 50	curé de St. Jacques de Louvain	Malines	Dyle	died the 15 Vendémiaire year 7
Wanhecservich. François, 30	oratorien	Malines	Dyle	died the 10 Vendémiaire year 7
Wattellier, 48	musicien	Beauvais	Oise	
Wlieger. Arnould-François, 47	oratorien	Malines	Dyle	died the 11 Vendémiaire year 7

P 2

Alphabetical List of Deported Persons embarked, August 1, 1798, *on board* la Bayonnaise, *and who arrived before the Harbour of Cayenne, 29th September following,* (8 *Vendémiaire, Year* 7.)—N. B. *The Figures denote their Age at the Time of Embarkation.*

Names and Age.	*Profession.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Achart-Lavort. Jean-Marc, 52	C. de la Rochenoire	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	died 13 Brumaire year 7
André. Jean-Nicolas, 36	Chanoine régulier	Nanci	Meurthe	
Aubert. Pierre, 47	C. de Fromentieres	Châl.-sur-Marne.	Marne	
Audin. Hilaire, 31	V. de St. Prix	Auxerre	Yonne	
Asaert. Pierre-Jacques, 51	C. d'Héringe	Ypres	La Lys	died 29 Brumaire year 7
Bolleret. Louis, 48	V. du Mont	Besançon	Doubs	died 2 Frimaire year 7
Begué. Jean, 31	Prêtre	Lombés	Gers	escaped 12 May 1799
Berger. Charles, 32	Bénédictin	Nanci.	Meurthe	died 20 Brumaire year 7
Berthod. Pierre-François, 56	Chan. de Sallanche	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died 27 Nivôse year 7
Bonnier. Claud, 29	Fondeur	Chambéri	Mont-Blanc	
Boscaut. Jean-Raymond, 48	Chanoine	Albi	Tarn	
Boscaut. Victor, 40	Bernardin	Albi	Tarn	died Frimaire year 8

Names and Age.	*Profession.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Bourgeois. Jean-François, 46	Bénédictin	Besançon	Doubs	died 18 Brumaire year 7
Brumaut-de-Beauregard. Jean-Bapt. 49	Chan. Vic. général	Luçon	Vendée	
Buffevant. Jean-Aymé, 35	V. de Ste. Marguerite	Paris	Seine	
Cabec. Jean-Nicolas, 55	Capucin	Metz	Moselle	died 15 Brumaire year 7
Campefort. Paul, 55	Curé de Bussol	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	died 19 Brumaire year 7
Cabassol. Denis-Hugues, 48	Curé de Laduz	Sens	Yonne	
Chappuis. Joseph, 46	Curé de St. Julien	Vienne	Isère	died 28 Brumaire year 7
Chavet. Joseph, 29	Prêtre d'Orgelet	Besançon	Doubs	
Cholet. Antoine, 45	Chanoine régulier	Angers	Maine et Loire	died 19 Frimaire year 7
Claire. Michel, 25	Laïc.	Chambéri	Mont-Blanc	
Collard. Jean, 58	C. de Chambornay	Besançon	Doubs	died 30 Vendém. year 7
Collin. Claude, 36	V. de Vovincourt.	Toul.	Meuse	
Compoint. Jean-Philippe-François, 32	Prêtre de Vendôme.	Blois		
Cop. Michel, 48	C. de Suendrecht	Gand	Escaut	escaped 12 May 1799
Corneville. Jacques, 48	C. du Poilay	Chartres.	Eure et Loire	
Courcières. Jean-Baptist, 40	Vic. de Valence en Albigeois	Albi	Tarn	died 28 Nivôse year 7
Coubtaut. Pierre-Alexis, 32	Vic. de Luysans	Besançon	Doubs	escaped 12 May 1799
Darmand. François, 41	Chan. de Samoën	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died 17 Brumaire year 7
David. Pierre, 45	Génovefain	Angoulême	H. Charente	died 3 Pluviôse year 7
Debay. Jean, 41	Régent de l'école des pauvres	Bruges	La Lys	escaped 12 May 1799
Demals. François, 42	Bernardin	Anvers	Deux Nèthes	died 22 Brumaire year 7
Denêve. Jacques, 52	C. de Nestcapelle	Bruges	La Lys	escaped 12 May 1799
Denoodt. Jacques, 32	Oratorien	Malines	Dyle	escaped 12 May 1799
Dezanneaux. Joseph, 44	Vic. de Nuel	La Rochelle	Deux-Sèvres	
Dorival. Jean, 51	Curé de Cohan	Soissons	Aisne	died 20 Brumaire year 7
Duchevreux (l'Erevisse). Jean-Adrien, 38	Minime desservant de Changi, &c.	Châl.-sur-Marne	Marne	
Dumont. Philippe, 46	Curé de Mannelhens-veert	Bruges	La Lys	escaped 12 May 1799

Names and Age.	*Profession.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*

Names and Age.	*Profession.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Énis. Louis Pierre, 40	Prêtre	Besançon	Doubs	died November 1799
Eyskens. Paul, 40	Bernardin	Anvers	Deux-Nèthes	died 23 Brumaire year 6
Fayet. Benoît, 18	Apothicaire	Vienne	Isère	died 18 Frimaire year 7
Flotteau. Hubert, 34	Vic. de Bevreu	Ypres	La Lys	escaped 12 May 1799
Galley. Joseph, 38	C. des Ouches Ch.	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died 24 Brumaire year 7
Garnier. Jacques	V. de Bevran	Langres	Haute-Marne	died October 1799
Garric. Pierre, 36	V. de St. Martin	Castres	Tarn	died 18 Brumaire year 7
Gaudin. Pierre, 42	V. de Chemivai	Angers	Maine et Loire	died 11 Pluviôse year 7
Gayet. Jean-Pierre-Guillaume, 31	Prêtre	Lyon	Rhône	
Gémin. Pierre-Joseph, 56	C. de Ramsbergen	Malines	Dyle	died Décember 1799
Gentet. Jean-Pierre, 45	C. de Meyriès	Vienne	Isère	
Gerdil. François, 53	V. de Lullin	Annéci.	Mont-Blanc	died 17 Brumaire year 7
Graff. Bernard, 32	Prêtre	Metz	Moselle	
Gurliat. Pierre-Louis, 49	Vic. d'Aillon	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	
Huysens. Marc-Antoine, 35	Prêtre	St.-Jean-de-Maurienne	Mont-Blanc	
Judet. Nicolas, 32	Chan. de S. Martial	Limoges	Haute-Vienne	died February 1799
Julien. Louis, 34	Laïc	Lyon	Rhône	
Keukeman. Jean, 44	Chapelain de S. Evalburg	Anvers	Deux-Nèthes	escaped 12 May 1799
Lachenal. Jacques, 34	Vic. de Cauponeix	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died 15 Frimaire year 7.
Lafond. Antoine, 41	Curé d'Epanes	Saintes	Charente-Infér.	
Laforgue. Jean, 45	Curé de Villeneuve	Comminges	Haute-Garonne	died 28 Brumaire year 7
Laforie. Jean, 56	Vic. de Flognac	Cahors	Lot	died 19 Pluviôse year 7
Lamalathie. Bernnard-Marc-Gabriel, 38	Vic. de Salleiches	Comminges	Haute-Garonne	
Lurence. Marin, 39	Vic. de Buchelay	Chartres	Eure et Loire	died 25 Brumaire year 7
Lebas. Bonaventure, 50	Prêtre d'Ofteville	Rouen	Seine-Inférieure	died 14 Nivôse year 7
Leroy. André, 43	C. de St. Martin	Rouen	Seine-Inférieure	died 24 Brumaire year 7
Leroy. Pierre, 32	Prêtre	Mans	Mayenne	
Luquet. François, 41	Curé de Ville-sur-Jarnion	Lyon	Rhône	died 24 Brumaire year 7

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Marduel. Humbert, 34	Augustin	Lyon	Rhône	
Massiot. Jean-François, 39	Vic. de St. Hélier	Rennes	Isle & Vilaine	
Mentel. Claude, 58	Prêtre	Chambéri	Mont Blanc	died 12 Floréal year 7
Mercier. Didier, 40	Laïc	Chambéri	Mont-Blanc	died 3 Frimaire year 7
Michel. François. 40	Prêtre	Lyon	Rhône	died 7 Ventôse year 7
Millochau. Lubin, 57	Curé d'Ossonville	Chartres	Eure & Loire	died 17 Brumaire year 7
Miquelot. Marguerite, 30	Servante	Nanci	Meurthe	
Missonnier Claude. 34	Vic. de Mayres	Clermont	Haute-Loire	
Monnereau. Jean-Pierre, 31	Soudiacre	Rieux	Adige	
Montangeran. Pierre, 31	Prêtre	Mâcon	Saône & Loire	
Moons	Vic. de Boom	Anvers	Deux-Nêthes	escaped 12 May 1799
Moulis. Pierre, 52	Curé de Vindrac	Albi	Tarn	
Morau-Dufourneau, L. M., 38	V. du Mont-St.-Sulpice	Sens	Yonne	
Morel. Barthélemi, 47	Prêtre	Lyon	Rhône	died the 20 Brum. year 7
Nectoux. Claude, 38	C. de Ste. Radegonde	Autun	Saône & Loire	
Parès. Pierre, 37	Curé de Tentavel	Narbonne	L'Aude	escaped the 12 May 1799
Paviot. Martin, 27	Laïc	Bourges	Cher	
Peyras. Pierre, 39	Capucin	Valence	Drôme	died the 25 Brum. year 7
Pillon. Nicolas, 41	Chan. de St. Victor	Paris	Seine	
Plombat. Antoine-Pierre, 48	Curé de Salvignac	Rhodez	Aveyron	
Poignard. Jacques-Denis, 39	C de Lumeau en Beauce	Orléans	Loiret	
Ponci. Jean, 23	Laïc	Montpellier	L'Hérault	died the 7 Frimaire year 7
Porte. Guillaume, 50	Curé des Molettes	Chambéri	Mont-Blanc	
Pouttier. Nicolas, 20	Laïc	Metz	Moselle	
Pradier. Guillaume, 50	C. de Murot-le-Quai	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	died 30 Brumaire year 7
Rey. Michel	Prof. du séminaire de	S.-J. de Maurienne	Mont-Blanc	died 30 Brumaire year 7
Reyphins. Joseph, 37	Vic. de Vesflétéren	Ypres	La Lys	escaped the October 1798
Roux. Etienne, 50	Curé de Coulanges	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	
Rouyre. Pierre, 52	C. de St. Saturninès-Montagnes	Clermont	Puy-de-Dome	died 19 Brumaire year 7
Royer. Jean-Baptiste, 24	Marchand	Clermont	Puy-de-Dôme	

Names and Age.	*Professions.*	*Residence.*	*Departments.*	*Deaths or Escapes.*
Rubline. Jean-Baptiste-Joseph, 38	Curé de Chingi	Orléans	Loiret	
Sautré. Jean-François, 49	Professeur à Vic.	Metz	Moselle	
Senez. Louis, 47	C. de l'Echelle-le-Franc	Soissons	Aisne	died the Décember 1799
Saintubery. Jacques, 40	Vic. de Rulains	Tarbes	Hautes-Pyrénées	
Songeon. Dominique, 29	Prêtre	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died the Décember 1799
Souchon. Pierre-Paul, 42	Vic. de Issengeaux	Le Puy	Haute-Loire	died 22 Brumaire year 7
Torel. Nicolas-Aubin, 44	Vic. d'Arcaney	Rouen	Seine-Inférieure	
Tournefort. Pierre, 56	Chanoine	Annéci	Mont-Blanc	died 22 Brumaire year 7
Vanbever. Jean-Baptiste, 48	Bernardin	Anvers	Deux-Nèthes	died 19 Brumaire year 7
Vanvolexem. François-Joseph, 54	C. de S. Livin-Hessche	Malines	Dyle	died 28 Brumaire year 7
Veauzi. François, 49	Curé de Busson	Clermont	Puy-de-Dome	died 15 Frimaire year 7
Vergne. Dominique, 41	Vicaire	Angers	Maine & Loire	died 25 Frimaire year 7
Vérillot. Antoine, 48	Capucin	Autun	Saône & Loire	died 21 Ventôse year 7
Vieuxmaire. Jean-Baptiste, 45	Récollet	Besançon	Doubs	died 12 Frimaire year 7

PIERRE HOCHARD, aged 40, one of the missionaries of French Guiana, whose name has not been inserted in this list, was, nevertheless, treated as a deported person by the government of Cayenne.

Names of deported Persons who died on board la Bayonnaise *during the Voyage.*

Allagnon . . . . . De Cahors
Beaugé . . . . . Du Mont-Blanc
Bucher, le jeune . . . . . De Besançon
Chevalier . . . . . De Chambéri
Marcé . . . . . Du Puy
Moutis . . . . . D'Auch
Reyphins, l'aîné . . . . . D'Ypres
Tragnier . . . . . De Saintes

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